THE INFLECTED INFINITIVE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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Abstract

This study presents a syntactic and semantic analysis of the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) using the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar.

Considering not only Standard Brazilian Portuguese in BP, but also varieties of Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (CBP) and the Northeastern regional dialect (NeBP), it is argued that the personal uninflected infinitive forms constitute a further stage in the development of the infinitive in Portuguese, at least in BP, as suggested by the Romance-Based Theory of the Inflected Infinitive, proposed by Maurer (1968).

Following Belloro (2004), it is also argued that the inflection is generated in the Agreement Index Node (AGX) at the level of the NUCLEUS of the infinitive. As this inflection is coreferential with an overt nominative subject, it constitutes a double representation of the subject of the inflected infinitive, showing a property of head-marking language in BP, which is essentially a dependent-marking language.

In the examples analyzed in this study, two types of inflected infinitives are identified, and represented differently: the first one, which bears both nominal and verbal features, is represented as a reference phrase (RP); and the second one, showing only verbal features, is represented as a CORE. These basic syntactic representations are used in different complex structures, generating a broad array of uses of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese.

Cross-linguistically, the RRG analysis showed that BP assigns case at the level of the CORE, enabling a clause to have two highest ranking macroroles (HR MRs) that receive nominative case, given that BP is an accusative language.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NASP	nominal aspect
Agr	agreement	NeBP	Northeastern Brazilian
AGX	agreement Index (node)		Portuguese
ASP	aspect	NEG	negation
AUH	actor-undergoer hierarchy	NPIP	NP-initial position
AUX	auxiliary	NPFP	NP-final position
BP	Brazilian Portuguese	NOM	nominative
C	complementizer	NP	nominal phrase
[± C]	case feature (GB)	NUC	nucleus
CBP	Colloquial Brazilian	O	clause (Perini, 1974)
	Portuguese	OBL	oblique
CHO	chômeur	P	preposition
CLM	clause-linkage marker	P	proposition (in Relational
CP	complementizer-phrase		Grammar, Scida, 2004)
DAT	dative	PERF	perfective
DEF	definite	PI	plain infinitive
DEIC	deictic	pl	plural
DS	different subject	PoCS	postcore-slot
EP	European Portuguese	PP	prepositional phrase
EQUI	equivalent	PrCS	precore-Slot
F	feminine	PRED	predicate
FUT	future	PRO	pronoun
GB	Government & Binding	PSA	privileged syntactic
I	inflection		argument
II	inflected infinitive	PSBL	possible
IMP	imperative	Q	question marker
IMPERF	imperfective	QNT	quantifier
INF	infinitive	REFL	reflexive
Infl	inflectional node	R	reference
IP	inflectional phrase	RP	reference phrase
K	case (Case Grammar)	RRG	Role and Reference
M	masculine		Grammar

SBP	Standard Brazilian Portuguese
sg	singular
SN	nominal syntagm
SPEC	specifier (GB)
SS	same subject
SSI	deletion of identical subject
SUBJ	subject
SUBJUNCT	subjunctive
TNS	tense
V	verb
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase
Ø	zero-morpheme
Δ	a delta dummy

1. Introduction

One of the distinctive aspects of Portuguese is that an infinitive verb can be inflected, by adding to it a personal ending.[1] This idiosyncrasy does not occur exclusively in Portuguese, but also in Galician and in a few Romance dialects[2], as well as in Hungarian and Welsh. However, nowhere else did this aspect develop in such an extent as in Portuguese[3], and this is one of the reasons for the study of this language inside and outside of the Portuguese speaking countries. Kliffer (1978) states:

> "[…] This [*sc*. Portuguese] personal infinitive has drawn the attention of purists, philologists, and linguists for well over a century because its principles are so elusive, so variant from author to author and one level of speech formality to another. […] " (*cf*. Kliffer, 1978:77)

From his citation, one can deduce, beside the great interest on this issue, that there has been much controversy about the actual use of the inflected infinitive in terms of its grammatical use, its frequency and its users. Actually, the contradictory opinions are so different from each other that it seems that they did not have the same background information to come to their conclusions.[4] For example, Brandão (1963) and Maurer (1968), when discussing the actual use of the inflected infinitive in Brazil of the 1960s, i.e. the use of this infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as a whole, have different opinions about this issue. Whereas Brandão (1963)[5] holds that the use of the inflected infinitive is irregular and vague, and, *mutatis mutandis*, that even those who were actually able to apply it correctly

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[1] According to Almeida (1999), the inflected infinitive is one of the idiomatic constructions of Portuguese along with (i) the expletive use of the cleft construction *é que* (*lit.* 'is that'), such as in *Eu é que fiz isso* (*lit.* 'I is that did that', meaning 'I did that'), (ii) the interposition of the preposition *de* ('of') between an adjective and a substantive or a pronoun, where the qualifying element comes first before the preposition as in e.g. *pobre do homem* (*lit.* 'poor of the man', meaning 'poor man', here, in a exclamation of pity), (iii) the use of a definite article before a possessive pronoun in a nominal phrase such as in *a minha casa* (*lit.* 'the my house'), (*cf*. Almeida, 1999:480-481).

[2] Maurer (1968) also presents Galician, Mirandese (a dialect in Portugal), Leonese, Sardinian and Old Napolitanean (of the 16th century) as well as Hungarian as languages that still have or had the inflected infinitive. (*cf*. Maurer, 1968:1-2). Miller (2002) adds Welsh to Portuguese and Hungarian as examples of languages with both a plain infinitive and an inflected one (*cf*. Miller, 2002:108). Schulte (2004) specifies the Sardinian dialects as the Logudorese-Nuorese ones, besides including all other Romance varieties as Maurer does (*cf*. Schulte, 2004:84-85).

[3] *cf*. Maurer, 1968:82-87, Scida, 2004:3.

[4] What one can deduce from their publications is that they come from two different states in the Southeastern Region of Brazil: São Paulo (Maurer) and Minas Gerais (Brandão). Each of these states shows strong distinctive ways of speaking, principally in terms of their pronunciation and vocabulary. It is much more likely that they have projected either their knowledge or impressions about the use of the inflected infinitive in their own region to its use in the whole country, since it is not attestable that they have done thorough research in the 1960s to justify their generalizations.

[5] *cf*. Brandão, 1963:441.

were not consistent with the norms prescribed by the normative grammar; Maurer (1968) presents a quite different scenario for the same situation, i.e. that it were natural, logical and easy to use it, apart form being a structural element of the language since its origin.[6]

This controversy about the actual use of the inflected infinitive in the language was shown here just to illustrate one aspect of what Kliffer (1978) meant in his citation, shown above. It is not a goal of this work to discuss all controversies around this issue thoroughly, nor to prescribe what is correct in its use, nor to show how its use is in Brazil as whole. But rather, to present some uses of the inflected infinitive of the standard and colloquial languages, that are likely to occur, which may or may not be used everywhere, since there is no unified account of the uses of the inflected infinitive in Brazil, which was achieved through an intensive research with representative results, that could be used to tie in with the considerations of this study. Besides, examples of the dialect of the Northeastern Region of Brazil will also be handled as examples of this kind of infinitive in a regional dialect, in order to diversify the analysis of the target language a little.

There are two major areas of study related to the inflected infinitive: the study of its origin and the study of its syntactic use.[7] As the present work will be a synchronic study of this aspect of the language, in which its syntactic behavior will be analyzed, the whole discussion about its origin will not be taken into consideration, so as not to exceed the scope of this work. However, what concerns its origin that may be relevant for the discussion of its syntax will also be used in the analysis. For example, the theory of the personal infinitive in the Romance languages that might be the predecessor of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese will also be integrated in the discussion briefly, in order to account for the personal forms of the verb without personal endings[8], so as to avoid analyzing these forms as merely syncretism or having to leave them out completely.

The second prominent issue about the inflected infinitive is the analysis of its syntax. Since Soares Barbosa (1822) with his initial prescriptive rules and Friedrich Diez (1836) with his imprecise though valuable suggestions[9], there were many attempts to account for the uses of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese. According to the majority of those concerned with

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[6] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:1-2.
[7] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:2-3, Scida, 2004:1.
[8] The inflected infinitive coded for the 1st person singular (INF.1sg) and the one for the 3rd person singular (INF.3sg) do not add any personal morpheme to the infinitive verb. However, they are very often just signaled by their overt subjects. According to this theory, the personal infinitives (i.e. uninflected infinitives with their own overt subjects) come before the inflected ones in the development of the language, since this process is verified in old registers in High Middle Ages (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:66-102). In addition, this form of infinitive is also present in various Romance languages and dialects nowadays (*cf.* Schulte, 2004:75).
[9] *cf.* Scida, 2004:40.

this issue, the most prominent accounts are Maurer (1968) and Said Ali (1966)'s, which have been referred to by the most following accounts.

Beside these attempts to account for the grammatical use of this type of infinitive, there were also some linguistic analyses using modern generative approaches (e.g. Perini (1974), Kliffer (1978), Raposo (1987), and Scida (2004)). In this study, a brief review of a small selection of accounts will be presented that might be sufficient to give a rough idea of the general syntactic study of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese (principally related to Brazilian Portuguese), trying to present an outline of these previous accounts.

This outline will serve to gather important considerations both from the accounts on its grammatical use and from the linguistic accounts that will be used in the present analysis under the theoretical framework of *Role and Reference Grammar* (RRG), which will be, to my knowledge, the first analysis of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese using this framework.

RRG was initially developed by William A. Foley and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. back to the late 1970s. According to Van Valin (2010), their initial concerns with RRG were to develop a theoretical framework that would be able both to account for the analysis of languages with diverse structures (e.g. Lakhota, Dyirbal, etc.) and, at the same time, to correlate semantics and pragmatics with the syntactic analysis in a harmonic way. To these initial typological and theoretical questions, a broad array of questions that the theory seeks to answer has been added since its early days.[10]

The RRG framework for the syntactic analysis provides distinct analytic tools to represent a given syntactic structure from a quite different perspective from the ones of the linguistic theories above. For this reasons, the analysis of the inflected infinitive using this framework is justifiable, since it will bring new light on this old issue.

The main aim of this study will be to advance an understanding of the inflected infinitive in BP, considering the standard language (SBP), the colloquial language varieties and the regional dialect of NeBP using the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar for the syntactic representation and the semantic representation.

In order to achieve this main goal, specific objectives were set, such as: (i) identify the actual structure of the inflected infinitive; (ii) justify the inclusion of the personal uninflected infinitive forms in the analysis of the inflected infinitive ones; (iii) suggest a formal representation for the two different types of inflected infinitives (the one with the definite article, and the one without the article); and (iv) explore the environments in which the inflected infinitive occurs, considering its syntactic and semantic structures within RRG.

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[10] *cf.* Van Valin, 2010:704-705.

In this work it is argued that the inflected infinitive differs morphosyntactically from the plain infinitive by person marking, which can be represented either by the presence of an overt subject in nominative case, or of inflection, or of both, changing the status of the infinitive from a general idea to a specific one in terms of person, as one can see in (1.a-d).

(1)   a. Ele   esperou   um pouco para sair   mais tarde.   (SS)[11]
       3sgM.NOM wait.PERF.3sg a little   to   get-out.INF later.
           'He waited a little to get out later.'

       a'. Eu   esperei   um pouco para nós   saír-mos   juntos.   (DS)[12]
       1.sg.NOM wait.PERF.1sg a little   for   1.pl.NOM get out.INF.1pl together.
           'I waited a little for us to get out together.'

       b. Ele   esperou   terminar o trabalho.   (SS)
          3.Msg.NOM wait.PERF.3sg finish.INF the work.
          'He waited to finish the work.'

       b'. Ele   me   esperou   terminar o trabalho.   (DS)
          3sgM.NOM 1.sg.ACC wait.PERF.3sg finish.INF the work.
          'He waited for me to finish the work.'

       c. Mamãe me   deixou   brincar na rua.   (DS)
           Mother 1.pl.ACC let.PERF.3sg play.INF on the street.
           '[My] mother let me play on the street (*sc*. outside).'   (Perini, 2010:212)

       d. Ela   comprou   um caderno para eu   usar-ø   na escola. (DS)
          3.Fsg.NOM buy.PERF.3sg a   notebook for 1.pl.NOM use.INF.1sg at the school.
          'She bought a notebook for me to use at school.'

As one can see, the plain infinitive does not code for person, whether its subject is the same as the one of the main verb (SS), as in (1.a) and (1.b); or not (DS), as in (1.b') and (1.c) – here, the pronoun *me* (1.sg.ACC) is an object of the main verb, but also the logical subject of the plain infinitive, (also known as the accusative subject of a reminiscent *Latin* infinitival clause i.e., *accusativum cum infinitivo*, A.c.I., in prescriptive grammar).[13] In these constructions, the related subject is licensed by the main verb (as one of its arguments).

By contrast, the inflected infinitive codes for person, as in (1.a') with the overt subject in nominative and the verbal inflection, or, as in (1.d), with just the overt nominative subject; here, the zero-morpheme is used to make a distinction between the plain infinitive without inflection and the personal uninflected infinitive with an overt subject in nominative. In these

[11] SS stands for 'same subject', i.e., the subject of the main verb is the same as the one of the infinitive.
[12] DS stands for 'different subject', i.e., the main verb and the infinitive have different subjects.
[13] *cf*. Almeida, 1999:412.

examples, the infinitival construction has a different status from the one above provided by the overt subject in nominative and its agreement on the infinitive verb, namely the status of a subordinate "clause", in traditional terms[14], with its independent subject which it is neither an argument of the main verb nor of the predicative preposition, but of the inflected infinitive itself, both morphosyntatically and semantically. As it will be shown in chapter five, this kind of construction will be considered in RRG either as a CORE, which is constituted of a NUC (the verb) and of its arguments (the subject, the objects), or as an RP (i.e., Reference Phrase) with the operator DEF (definiteness).

In addition, according to Perini (2010:212-3), the infinitival construction in (1.c), which is formed with the plain infinitive and an accusative subject in the standard language, can be built with the nominative subject in the colloquial language[15], as in (2.a).

(2)   Mamãe   deixou   eu   brincar-ø   na rua.   (DS)
       Mother let.PERF.3sg 1.pl.NOM play.INF.1sg on the street.
       '[My] mother let me play on the street (*sc*. outside).'   (Perini, 2010:212)

Perini (2010:213) explains that this is accepted and used by people who never use the personal pronoun *eu* as an object elsewhere[16], and concludes that this construction follows its own rules, that is, not the ones of the infinitival construction in (1.c). This is evidence of the fact that the pronoun *eu* is really licensed by the personal uninflected infinitive and not by the main verb (*cf. fn*.15).

Perini (2010) adds that this behavior of the pronouns is not restricted to the verbs of persuasion, but it also occurs with verbs of perception, such as in (3.a) and (3.a'). In addition, the example (1.b') can also be used in the same way in the colloquial language, as shown in (3.b).

(3)   a. Eu   vi   eles   saír-em.   (DS)
          1.sg.NOM see.PERF.1sg 3.pl.NOM get out.INF.3pl.
          'I saw them getting out.'
       a'. Eu   os   vi   saír.   (DS)
          1.sg.NOM 3.pl.ACC see.PERF.1sg get out.INF.3pl.

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[14] Mattoso (1977) claims that there was a semantic motivation for this infinitival construction, namely that the inflected infinitive confers the status of a standard subordinate clause to the construction, since it is not linked to the main verb as the infinitival construction of the plain verb, which forms with the main verb a secondary "verbal phrase". (*cf.* Mattoso, 1977:140).

[15] Perini (2010) does not use the terms 'standard language' and 'colloquial language', because the main goal of his grammar is to describe Brazilian Portuguese (i.e., the colloquial language, here). Perini (2010) explains that the pronoun (object) takes the form of the subject in a variant form.

[16] In some colloquial varieties, there is a tendency to reduce the paradigm of personal pronouns to the minimum, i.e., the forms of the nominative case are also used in the object position and in prepositional phrases, but it is not the case in this example.

'I saw them getting out.'

    b. Ele   esperou   eu   terminar-ø   o trabalho.   (DS)

    3.Msg.NOM wait.PERF.3sg 1.sg.NOM finish.INF.1.sg the work.

    'He waited for me to finish the work.'

In the examples above, one can see the verb of perception *ver* 'see' linked to two different infinitival constructions: in (3.a) the subject is marked twice, by an overt subject, which is not a direct argument of the main verb, but of the infinitive, and by the inflection; in (3.a') both the plain infinitive and the accusative subject are linked to the main clause as direct arguments of the main verb. In (3.b), the overt subject is no longer a direct argument of the main verb as in (1.b'), but it is direct linked to the personal uninflected infinitive (here, it is signaled by the zero-morpheme).

Additionally, the infinitive in Portuguese can also occur with a definite article, both the plain infinitive, such as in (4.a), and the inflected one, as and (4.b).

(4)   a. "Ouvi   o   troar   dos   caminhões."

      Hear.PERF.1sg DEF rumble.INF of the trucks

      'I heard the rumbling of the trucks.'   (*cf.* Napoleão, 1999:540)

    b. "A   solução da vida está no   alternarmos   coisas diversas."

      The solution of life   is   in DEF alternate.INF.1.pl things various

      'The solution of life is in that we alternate different things.'(Moteiro Lobato, 1946)[17]

According to Schnerr (1966:65), the occurrence of a definite article in an inflected infinitival construction is very rare, and it shows a further specification of the construction. Actually, it is quite unusual to have both the article and the overt subject in a single sentence. But Almeida (1999:543) presents an example from Barbosa (1822)[18] with the subject in a postverbal position when occurring with an article, such as in the sentence below:

(5)   "O louvares-me   tu   me causa   novidade"

    the praise.INF.2sg-ACC1sg   2sg.NOM me cause.PRES.3sg newness

    'The fact that you praised me surprises me.'

When the subject occurs in a postverbal position, it normally appears right after the verb in a VSO order. However, the infinitival construction in (5) has a VOS order because of the presence of the article and because its object occurs as a bound morpheme attached to the

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[17] *cf.* Lobato (1946), cited by Schnerr, 1966:64.
[18] Even though this example, which was introduced by Barbosa (1822:284), is considered unusual nowadays at least in Brazil, Almeida (1999[1965]) includes it in his grammar that is still used as a reference book in schools.

infinitive, bringing the subject to the end of the construction. Almeida also gives a similar example of an overt lexical subject in the same postverbal position, as shown below. (*cf.* Almeida, 1999:498)

(6)   "O   queixar-ø-se   o paciente não   influi   no   tratamento."
        ART complain.INF.3sg-REFL the patient NEG affect.PRES.3sg in the treatment.
        'The fact that the patient complains does not affect the treatment.'

Teyssier (1976:235) also presents the following example with both an article and an overt lexical subject, but it occurs in the preverbal position, as in (7.a). Comparing it with (7.b), one can see that the article has scope only over the nominal phrase in the first example, because the same sentence with the pronoun does not show the article and the subject has its usual preverbal position.

(7)   a. É   a   hora de os alunos saírem
            be.PRES.3sg the time of the pupils go-out.INF.3pl
           'It is time for the pupils to go out'
        b. É   a   hora de eles   saírem
            be.PRES.3sg the time of 3pl.NOM go-out.INF.3pl
           'It is time for them to go out'

As it seems, when an article has scope over an inflected infinitival construction, it occurs in the masculine singular form (Msg) as *o* 'the', even though the infinitival construction is in the plural, as in (4.b); in addition, the overt subject appears in the postverbal position because of the article, as in (5) and (6).

Considering the examples above, it will be argued that the inflected infinitive has two different constructions: (i) the construction with a definite article in form of a referring argument expression (RP), which bears nominal and verbal properties, as in (4.b); and (ii) the one without an article, which is a CORE, having only verbal properties, as shown in all examples of the inflected infinitive above. These forms will be analyzed within RGG in chapter five.

In this work it is also argued, based on Belloro (2004), that the inflection of the infinitive, which forms with the overt subject a double marking of the subject, is represented in the AGX node (i.e., Agreement Index Node) inside the NUC. In addition, the personal uninflected will be also included in the paradigm[19] of the inflected infinitive whenever it

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[19] The paradigm of the inflected infinitive can be seen in sec. 2.1.2 (for the standard language), in sec. 2.1.3 (for the colloquial language) and in sec. 2.1.4 (for the Northeastern dialect of BP).

comes with a subject in the nominative, being marked with a zero-morpheme (Ø), in order to distinguish it from the plain infinitive.[20]

The present work will be organized as follows: In chapter 2, a general account of the uses of the inflected infinitive will be suggested, and the more commonly accepted examples will be discussed. In chapter 3, a short literature review of selected accounts on its grammatical uses and of some linguistic analyses will be submitted. In chapter 4, a brief overview about the theory of the syntactic representation (and of the semantics-to-syntax linking) in RRG will be presented, in order to support the actual analysis in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 will summarize the main arguments and tie this work together.

The examples shown in this work will be taken from the literature reviewed, whose source is indicated right beside it or shown in footnotes. If there is no source indication, it means that the example is constructed. There will be also morpheme-by-morpheme glosses when they are necessary.

1.1. Some Considerations about Brazilian Portuguese

In order to present the inflected infinitive in a reasonable way, it is necessary to return to the controversial issue introduced in the beginning of this work concerning the frequency of the inflected infinitive (i.e. how familiar its users really are with it and how often it occurs in the language), trying to bridge the conflicting positions.

When Brandão (1963) alludes to the inconsistency of the use of the inflected infinitive, he points out that some writers would apply it with certain orderliness whereas others would use it very scarcely and without a consistent grammar-based approach. For him, this were due to the fact that normative grammars would neither characterize this kind of infinitive adequately nor give suitable and steady rules that would reflect its actual use. Here, it is important to note that Brandão refers to it just in relation to the formal written language (although without indicating it explicitly), not mentioning it in terms of the other language varieties.

As for Maurer (1968), he staunchly defends the idea that the inflected infinitive would not be 'an artificial brainchild of the erudites', but rather it would 'constitute one of the most spontaneous and vivid elements of the morphology of the language', in addition to being easy and logical, despite the fact that some foreigners and even some native speakers would

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[20] The difference between these two constructions will be explained in detail in chapter two.

consider it as one of the biggest difficulties of Portuguese.[21] He also argues that the inflected infinitive would be a structural element of the language because it was already present in the Vulgar Latin of the notaries (i.e. 'o *latim dos tabeliões*'[22] – what would eventually become the Portuguese language –), and, on the top of that, he even claims that its uses as found in the ancient, classic and modern texts would remain somewhat constant, with some shades of difference though[23].

Maurer does not refer explicitly to the frequency of its actual use in that time, but, since he considers the inflected infinitive as 'a spontaneous and vivid element of the morphology', one can deduce that this kind of infinitive was – for him – not a privilege of the "well-learned" speakers but part of the language of the speakers of other varieties.

Thus, Maurer (1968) presents a completely different view from that of Brandão (1963), despite the fact that both scholars were referring to the written formal language of the 1960s.[24] Part of the problem of these incompatible positions could be solved if these scholars would not draw their conclusion about this phenomenon in terms of the language as a whole, but rather if they would specify their accounts, for instance, in terms of a register (e.g., formal, informal, familiar, etc.), a social and regional dialect (e.g., *sulista*, *carioca*, *mineiro*, *nortista*/*amazônico*, *nordestino*, *baiano*, etc.)[25], or even a style (e.g., academic, journalese,

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[21] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:1. "Nem se trata de uma criação artificial de eruditos, mas, antes, constitui um dos elementos mais espontâneos e vivazes da sua morphologia. E apesar de parecer muitas vêzes (sic) aos estrangeiros – e não raro até aos que aprenderam a língua no berço – uma das grandes dificuldades do português, o seu emprêgo (sic) é de fato bastante simples e lógico".

[22] This is considered as the stage previous to the first stage of the language (i.e. before the 12th century), when the Vulgar Latin of the notaries started to be influenced by the colloquial language of the western Region of the Iberian Peninsula, by the *Romanço* – i.e. the then-current Romance language of the region – , which will be progressively transformed into Portuguese-Galician (beginning in the 12th century A.D.), and then into Portuguese (beginning in the 14th century A.D.).

[23] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:2.

[24] Maurer (1968) explains that most examples were from authors of the 19th and 20th centuries, when dealing with the syntax of the inflected infinitive (*cf.* Maurer, 1968, in the preface). However, as he does not refers to the examples of the past as archaisms or out-dated examples, he thus implies that they could occur in the 1960s as well.

[25] The delimitation of dialectal zones of BP is quite controversial due to the various criteria adopted in a few attempts that can not be verified in each way of speech scattered all over the country (cf. Fig.1 and Fig.2 , below).

etc.). In spite of valuable insights in their works, they generalized their positions based on their opinions about the use of the inflected infinitive in the formal written language.

In this regard, Perini (1974) presents a better approach to deal with the problem of improper generalization in his account on the inflected infinitive, in the way that he sets the formal spoken dialect, considered by him as very close to the standard written BP, as the object language of his generative analysis, but he also alludes to the colloquial spoken dialect, which is taken as the way most Brazilians speak, thus not ignoring the colloquial variety altogether, as the other two scholars above.

In order to avoid categorical assertions or improper generalizations, such as the ones presented by J.W. Martin (1976), which result from poorly grounded impressions about the uses of the inflected infinitive in Brazil,[26] it is important to note that Brazilian Portuguese can

Fig.1 – Some Dialects of BP (by PedroPVZ, *cf.* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Portugueselanguagedialects-Brazil.png – Last visited: 08.11.2010)

Fig.2 – Dialectal Zones of BP (based on Medeiros' representation, *cf.* http://www.linguaportuguesa.ufrn.br/en_3.3.b.php Last visited: 08.11.2010)
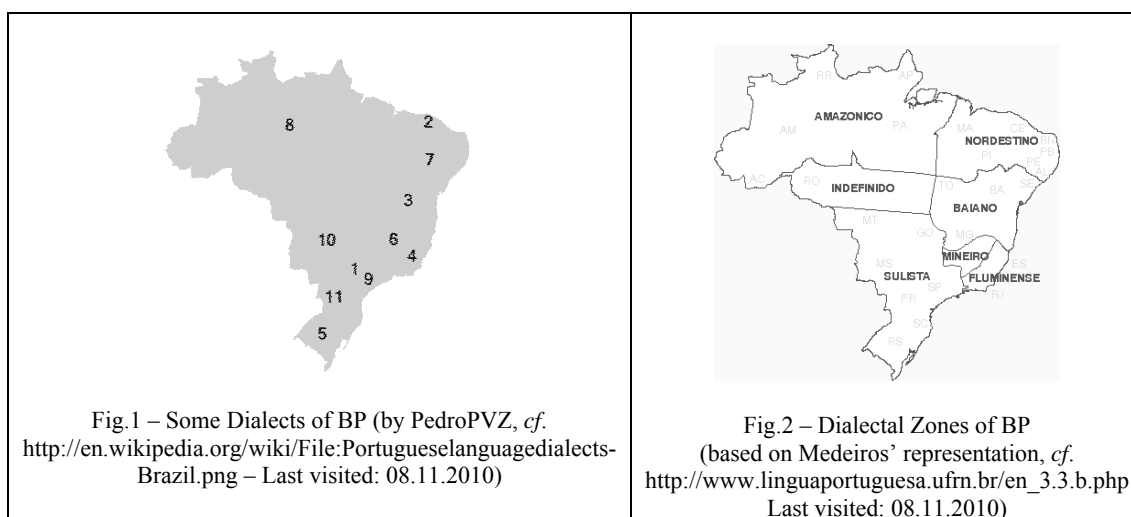
In Fig. 1 one can see a partially accepted distribution of eleven different accents that, in spite of having some peculiar properties that could be sufficient to classify them as single dialects, do share other significant characteristics (such as Lexicon, Morphology, Syntax, etc.) with their bordering accents.

For Instance, Antenor Nascentes (1953) identifies six main dialectal zones (i.e. macrodialects) distributed in the North (i.e., the Amazonian (8) and the Northeastern (2 and 7) varieties) and South of Brazil (with the Bahianian (3), the Mineiran (6), the Fluminense (4) and the Southern (1, 5, 9, 10 and 11) varieties). The Northeastern variety, which is the regional variety studied here, includes the States of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas and the Northern Region of Goiás (i.e., 2 and 7 in Fig. 1). (*cf.* Nascentes (1953) in Da Luz et al., 1971:134; see also Azevedo, 2005:214). A similar distribution can be seen in Fig.2, showing all six dialectal zones suggested by Nascentes, but it includes an undefined dialectal zone from the Northwest of Goiás, passing through the North of Mato Grosso to the State of Roraima (labeled in Fig. 2 as *indefinido*), which is included by Nascentes in the Amazonian variety.

These dialectal distributions are very sketchy (considering Sobrinho's point of view for dialectal research in BP, *cf. fn.* 32, p. 12), because they ignore single important dialects depicted in Fig.1 (e.g. the *caipira* dialect – 6 in Fig.1). For this reason, these dialectal distributions should be seen just as a way to situate the Northeastern dialect studied here in the whole dialectal distribution of BP, in addition to suggesting examples of dialectal regions that could be used as the object of linguistics accounts.

[26] J.W. Martins (1976), being eager to defend his point of view that the inflected infinitive were "not part of the natively integrated grammar", uses combined fragments of references out of context, misinterprets quotations (e.g., Said Ali's exemplification of some Portuguese authors applying inflected infinitive even in Spanish – *cf.* Martin, 1976:53, *fn*.25; and Said Ali, 1950 [1908]: 94), and makes ill-grounded assertions, such as:

"[…] I have never met a native speaker of Portuguese who uses the 'synthetic future' with comfort, and who does not get tangled up when he must decide whether to infix clitic object

neither be categorically defined as the language prescribed by normative grammars (because it is not the exact language most Brazilians use on a daily basis)[27], nor can it be said that BP is a uniform language as presented in some accounts (as if every aspect shown in such descriptions, which diverges from European Portuguese (EP), could be found all over the country)[28]. However, it is also true that both the standard language, whose significance these accounts want to reduce, and the colloquial language have different communicative functions in society, as Azevedo explains:

> "[…] In such a situation the superposed or high variety (H) and the low variety or varieties (L) have different communicative functions and are used in different contexts. In speech, the H variety is required for communication in formal circumstances – such as parliamentary activity, formal addresses, lecturing, news broadcasting – while L is used in casual conversation and informal public contexts such as popular radio and television programs. In writing, the H variety is required for formal written communication, as in drafting administrative reports, parliamentary bills, paperwork involved in making laws and administering justice, news broadcasting, newspaper editorials or major news articles, didactic materials and other publications carrying responsibility, and of course literature regarded as serious. L varieties, if written at all, are used in folk literature, comic books, cartoons, and other forms of light entertainment. […]"
>
> (cf. Azevedo, 2005:260)

In addition to the H-variety (i.e. the standard language)[29] and the L-variety (i.e. the colloquial language), one can also recognize a third variant, a regional dialects, which is also

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pronouns or not. Similar difficulties are presented to native speakers by the 'future subjunctive' and the 'inflected infinitive', and speakers who pride themselves on their mastery of these forms make their way through their sentences with the same conscious skill as a circus performer on a tightrope (and with similar relief to themselves and their audience when they are successful). […]" (*cf.* Martin, 1976:50, *fn*.6)

Apart from his prejudice against non-standard varieties of speech expressed throughout his paper and his evident disdain for the language performance (i.e. of grammar rules) of a non-representative number of native speakers "that he might have met", he generalizes his biased impressions to the whole speech community of BP in order to reinforce his position, constituting thus an improper generalization.

[27] For Azevedo (2005), along with other Brazilian linguists (such as Bortoni-Ricardo (1985:9), Perini (2002:3-4, 2006:21-27), etc.), BP is a diglossic language according to Ferguson's (1959) criteria because of the existent contrast between the standard language and the non-standard varieties, and their complementary use in the same community in terms of relative prestige and power (cf. Azevedo, 2005:259-61).

[28] Perini (2006) shows that neither the standard language nor the colloquial varieties (including also the regional dialects) are homogeneous (cf. Perini, 2006:24).

[29] Actually, Azevedo (2005) considers the term "Standard Brazilian Portuguese" as "[…] the language variety used by educated speakers in casual speech and less formal kinds of writing – such as correspondence with intimates, which in recent years includes e-mailing – which do not call for the Prescriptive Portuguese.[…]" (*cf.* Azevedo, 2005:212). However, he also explains that this variety is still imperfectly analyzed and that his characterization is "somewhat loosely" formulated. For example, taking the language used by e-mailing, one

included among non-standard varieties. This differs from the colloquial language for presenting properties not found in other parts of the country, but only in this specific region, such as accent, idiomatic expressions, etc.

For all these reasons, I will follow Perini's (1974) basic approach, trying to present the topic in the standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP) – the one taught in school and used in formal occasions – as well as in the colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (CBP) – the one used by Brazilians on a daily basis – and in the regional dialect of the Northeastern region of Brazil (NeBP) – known in Brazil as *o falar nordestino*, 'the northeastern way of speech'.[30] Besides, one should keep in mind that the descriptions, examples and opinions about this topic in the language varieties analyzed here should not be considered as accurate representations, but rather as general tendencies (as Sobrinho (1977) suggests, *cf.* quotation below), or simply as examples that can occur in their domains (principally, in terns of CBP and NeBP), since there was no representative research on the issue in these varieties.

> "Sem uma pesquisa dessa espécie, tudo que se tem dito, no Brasil, é arbitrário e pode servir apenas para indicar tendências gerais dos grupos dialetais..." (*cf.* Sobrinho, 1977:41)[31]

For Sobrinho (1977), one should either do an extensive research as Gilliéron and Edmont (1902) did for acquiring their *L'Atlas Linguistique de la France*, or simply put their accounts into perspective of general tendencies, since their results would not be representative enough for an accurate description.[32] As such a research is not doable for the present work, one should take the following descriptions as an outline, as a plan for subsequent more accurate work.

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would classify it better as "colloquial" than as "standard", because there are many acronyms, jargons and, as he points out, the Prescriptive Grammar is ignored in it. This is also true for the correspondence with intimates, although the grammar is not ignored altogether here. For me, this kind of language belongs to the colloquial varieties as well (as in a language spectrum with varieties that are more accepted than others), since they (i.e. the languages of correspondence and of e-mailing) do not have social prestige as the language learned in school, which I consider here as SBP. In addition, what he writes about the H-language cannot mean the variety that he calls as "SBP", but rather the kind of variety that tries to follow the rules of the Prescriptive Grammar.
[30] *cf.* Fig. 2 in *fn* 25 on p. 10.
[31] i.e., "[…] Without a research like this [sc. Gilliéron and Edmont's Linguistic Atlas of France], everything that has been said in Brazil is arbitrary and it can only serve to indicate general tendencies of dialectal groups […] "*cf.* Sobrinho, 1977:41.
[32] Sobrinho (1977) claims that the existent accounts on BP dialects and the delimitation of their zones were not conducted through "purely" scientific methods. For this reason, he cites Gilliéron and Edmont's *Linguistic Atlas of France* (1902) as a prime example of a dialectal research to be followed, because they spent 15 years with intensive research to produce his linguistic atlas; otherwise one should qualify their assertions about dialects in Brazil as mere general tendencies, he suggests.

1.2. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, one could see that there has been much controversy around the topic of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese, which renders a consistent characterization of this kind of infinitive difficult.

Some of these controversies concerned the question of frequency, that is, how often it occurs in the language, or how familiar it is to BP users. Considering Brandao's (1963) and Maurer's (1968) irreconcilable opinions about this question, it was clear that this problem could be partially solved if they had not generalized their results to BP as whole. Instead of this, they could have achieved consistent results, if they had concentrated their analyses on a regional dialect, a register, or a style.

In this regard, Sobrinho (1977) criticized the existent accounts of BP and of some dialects, for not being based on a thorough research with representative data, and so, they should only be considered as general tendencies, and not as accurate representations. Consequently, the descriptions and opinions about the language varieties shown here should also be considered as general tendencies, thus making no claim to be complete or accurate.

For this reason, I will try to specify the language variety (SBP, CBP, NeBP) in the following chapters, whenever it is necessary to avoid undue generalizations.

2. General Information on the Inflected Infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese

According to standard assumptions, the term 'infinitive' represents a nominal form of the verb conveying its abstract idea[33] that, as a non-finite form, is normally not inflected to agree with any subject; it does not have tense or moods, and it cannot serve as the only verb of a declarative sentence. Besides occurring with an auxiliary verb, it can also have a range of syntactic roles, such as a subject, an object, an adverbial, part of a noun phrase, part of an adjective phrase, etc.[34] These rough assumptions, which may fit the description of infinitive verbs in many languages, are not sufficient to characterize the infinitive verbs in Portuguese.

There are two kinds of infinitive verbs in Portuguese: a plain infinitive and an inflected one. While the plain form would approximately correspond to the description above, it would be necessary to make some adjustments to fit the description of the inflected infinitive given its person marking. The following examples can be used to help characterizing these two kinds of infinitive verbs:

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[33] *cf.* Melo, Gladstone C. de, 1979:168.
[34] *cf.* Sandfeld, 1965:1-3; Rémi-Giraud, 1988:13.

(8) a. Compramos uns cadernos para usar na escola. (SS)

    Buy.PRES.1pl some notebooks to use.INF at DEF school.

    'We bought some notebooks (in order) to use them at school.'

  b. Compramos uns cadernos para eu usar-ø na escola. (DS)

    Buy.PRES.1pl some notebooks to 1sg.NOM use.INF.1sg at DEF school.

    'We bought some notebooks for me to use at school.'

  c. Compramos uns cadernos para usarmos na escola. (SS)

    Buy.PRES.1pl some notebooks to use.INF.1pl at DEF school.

    'We bought some notebooks for us to use at school.'

  d. Compramos uns cardernos para nós usar-mos na escola. (SS)

    Buy.PRES.1pl some notebooks to 1pl.NOM use.INF.1pl at DEF school.

    'We bought some notebooks for us to use at school.'

Based on these purposive infinitival clauses in (8.a-d), one can observe some general characteristics of these two kinds of infinitive verbs, which will be presented in detail later on, such as: (i) both forms can be applied in similar contexts; (ii) the choice of one of these infinitive forms shows the level of specification in terms of person; (iii) morphophonologically, not every inflected form can be differentiated from the plain one; (iv) the presence of an overt subject is not compulsory (*cf.* 8.c and 8.d); (v) the subject of the infinitival clause may differ from the one of the main clause (*cf.* 8.b). The first three features have to do with the plain infinitive and the inflected one, while the last two characteristics are concerned with the inflected infinitive in relation to the finite verb.[35]

2.0.1. Some characteristics of the inflected infinitive and the plain infinitive

From the examples above, one can recognize at least three apparent characteristics:

(i) Both forms can be applied in similar contexts: Although there are specific situations in which just one of these two forms are expected to be used in standard Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, SBP) and in some other varieties of the language, there exist many contexts where both forms are possible, i.e. where the agent of the action indicated by the infinitive verb can be specified (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:153-199). The kind of purposive infinitival clause shown above is an example thereof. Since the delimitation of the use of the inflected infinitive verbs is one of the most controversial aspects in the study of this aspect of the

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[35] Maurer (1968) points out that, by expressing the agent of the action through personal endings, the inflected infinitive loses part of its indefinite value, which is characteristic to the nominal forms of the verb, and it approaches the finite form of the verb, assuming some of its traits (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:130).

language, a small selection of its uses (i.e. its various applications) in BP, which will be presented in terms of the language varieties applying them, will be given in section 2.2.

(ii) The choice of one of these infinitive forms shows the level of specification in terms of person: In (8.a) the plain infinitive verb presents the abstract meaning of the verb *usar* ('to use'), not relating it to any given person but just focusing on the idea that the notebooks should be used at school, while in the other examples with the inflected infinitive verb *usar-ø* in (8.b) and *usar-mos* in (8.c-d) the main focus is on the specific agents *eu* ('I') and *nós* ('we'), respectively, carrying on the action of using them.

(iii) Morphologically, not every inflected form can be differentiated from the plain one: Not every inflected infinitive verb, i.e. not every infinitive verb with its own subject, shows a concrete personal inflection, but only those licensed by *tu* (you, 2sg), *nós* (we), *vós* (you, 2pl), *eles/elas* (they, masc. and fem., respectively) and *vocês* (you, 2pl). The other forms present a zero-morpheme (Ø), which is part of this paradigm (the whole inflectional paradigm for person that is attached to the inflected infinitive verb will be shown in detail below). In (8.b), the verb *usar* presents such a zero-morpheme. However, the presence of its overt subject *eu* ('I', 1sg) asserts that the verb is not the plain infinitive, but the inflected infinitive verb with a zero-morpheme (The reason for the use of a zero-morpheme was briefly presented in the introduction, but it will be explained in detail when dealing with the forms of the inflected infinitive in sec. 2.1).

There are other shared characteristics of these two forms, such as their incompatibility with the complementizer *que* ('that')[36], which is used to build subordinate clauses with finite verbs; the possibility for these infinitive forms to be determined by a definite article, which is placed before these verbs, etc., shown in (4.a), (4.b), (5) and (6). These features and the ones above were presented here just to illustrate the fact that the inflected infinitive retains many features of the plain infinitive verb.

2.0.2. Some characteristics of the inflected infinitive and the finite verb

In addition to the characteristics that relate the inflected infinitive to the plain infinitive, there are also other properties of the inflected one that are related to the finite verbs in terms of building reduced subordinate clauses, bearing its own subject in the nominative case and coding for person and number, as briefly explained in the two remaining characteristics observed in the examples in (8.a-d):

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[36] *cf.* Martins, 1999:208.

(iv) The presence of an overt subject is not compulsory: Despite the fact that the inflected infinitive has a subject by definition, its overt subject can be left out from the infinitival construction, which is just indicated by its inflection – principally if it is one of those subjects whose personal morphemes attached to the infinitive verb are concrete in the sense of item (iii), shown above[37] (for the full paradigm of the personal pronouns see sec. 2.1.2 for SBP, sec. 2.1.3 for CBP, and sec. 2.1.4 for NeBP). Hence, the sentence in (8.b) could look like the one in (8.a) and still have a personal meaning, if the context would allow this interpretation. This would be the case, for instance, if some parents would utter the sentence in (8.a) to their child, instead of the one in (8.b), that is, it would be clear for the child that he or she was meant, not any other person, carrying out the action of the infinitive verb. However, based on Cerqueira (1993), shown *fn.* 37 below, one can say that it is far more likely to find an inflected infinitive verb with an overt subject than one without its subject.

(v) The subject of the infinitival clause may differ from the one of the main clause: The inflected infinitive verb may have its own subject in nominative case that is different from the one of the main clause and that is licensed neither by the main verb, nor by a predicative preposition, but by the infinitive itself, such as in (5.b).

This feature is not shared by the plain infinitive, and so, it is not present in many languages, such as in German – in which the infinitive clause can occur as a subordinate clause, only if the subject is the same (SS) both in the main clause and in the subordinate clause is one and the same[38] – ; the plain infinitive in Portuguese can have a different subject as the one of the main clause, but only in constructions, in which its subject is a direct argument of the main verb (normally in the accusative case), as shown in (1.b'), (1.c) and in (3.a') above.

Other languages allow different subjects in constructions like these, but the subject of the infinitive clause is always associated with a preposition that determines its case, and so, not allowing it to be in the nominative case (e.g. in English, its overt subject comes in the oblique case following the preposition *for*). In BP there is also a variant form resembling this one in English that is ungrammatical in the standard language (SBP), but it occurs in some

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[37] Kato and Tarallo (1988) point out that, in the written language, Brazilian Portuguese (BP) follows the pro-drop pattern of omitting the subject when the verbal inflection or the context provides enough information to recover its referent. (*cf.* Kato and Tarallo (1988), cited by Cerqueira, 1993:136). However, as shown by Cerqueira himself, this pattern has been changing, according to a quantitative synchronic study carried on by Oliveira (1989). According to this study, a high percentage of the use of overt subjects in BP (77%) was verified both in the written language (70%) and in the spoken language (82%), bringing Cerqueira (1993) to conclude that, although the null subject can still occur in PB, its occurrence is very limited (*cf.* Cerqueira, 1993:136-137).
[38] *cf.* Caetano, 1986:87.

varieties of the colloquial language (CBP). It is a purposive infinitival clause with the preposition *para* ('for') followed by an overt subject in dative case *mim* ('me').

(9) a. Ela   comprou   maçã pra mim   comer.   (CBP and dialects)
    3sg.NOM buy PERF.3sg apple for 1sg.DAT eat.INF.1sg
    'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

   b. Ela   comprou   maçã preu   comer.   (CBP)
    3sg.NOM buy PERF.3sg apple for 1sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg
    'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

   c. Ela   comprou   maçã para eu   comer.   (SBP)
    3sg.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple for   1sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg
    'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

   d. Ela   comprou   maçã para eu   a   comer. (SBP)
    3sg.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple for   1sg.NOM 3sgF.ACC eat.INF.1sg
    'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

In the examples, one can see the same sentence in three language varieties: (i) the sentence (9.a) exemplifies the point at hand, i.e., the infinitival construction is personal but the overt subject is in dative case; (ii) in (9.b), the pronoun is in the nominative case in a *portmonteau* construction with the preposition *para*; (iii) the sentence in (9.c), which is in the standard language, has also the nominative case as overt subject followed by the personal uninflected infinitive; and (iv) the sentence in (9.d), which is also in the standard language, has no shared argument with the main clause, because its object appears as an accusative clitic inside of it. The example with the nominative case is considered to be more common than the one with the dative in colloquial varieties and some dialects. Interestingly, it can only be identified when it comes with the first person singular (1sg), because other pronouns occurring as overt subjects in such constructions have the same form as the nominative case (e.g., *ele* 'he' has the same form in subject position and in a prepositional phrase, i.e. *para ele comer* 'for him to eat').

Still other languages, like most Romance languages and dialects, allow two different subjects in nominative case in such constructions but without inflecting their infinitive verbs (excepting for the ones cited in the introduction, such as Galician, Mirandese, etc.)[39].

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[39] The infinitival constructions with an overt subject are present not only in the languages with inflected infinitive cited above but also in other Romance languages, such as French, Standard Italian and some Italian dialects, Spanish, Catalan, and Romanian. However, Schulte (2004) points out that French and Standard Italian presents this kind of construction, but to a limited extent. (*cf.* Schulte, 2004:75-76).

However, in Portuguese, not only can an overt subject co-occur with another subject in nominative case but also be associated with an infinitive verb with personal inflection.

After having presented some general characteristics of the inflected infinitive in terms of its relation to the plain infinitive and the finite verb, it is still necessary to indicate its forms and how they behave in the standard and the colloquial varieties, and in the Northeastern dialect, before introducing its uses in BP that will be analyzed under the RRG framework.

2.1. The Forms of the Inflected Infinitive in the language

As said above, the inflected infinitive is construed by adding to it personal endings that correspond to a specific subject. Accordingly, there are many scholars who prefer the traditional term 'personal infinitive' instead of 'inflected infinitive'. As Kliffer (1978) points out, there is no problem with the use of that old term as long as it is clear that the term 'inflected' in Portuguese, in this regard, presupposes 'personal', and vice-versa (*cf.* Kliffer, 1978:77).

Although I opted for the term 'inflected infinitive' in this work, I will also consider the importance of the zero-morpheme associated with the overt subject in the inflectional paradigm of the inflected infinitive, considering the fact that this kind of construction cannot be identified as plain infinitives. If one considers the occurrence of such constructions in the three forms of the SBP and of CBP-I[40] (i.e., *eu, você* and *ele/ela*)[41] and in all forms of CBP-II and of NeBP[42], one can see that all these constructions work syntactically and semantically as the ones with the inflected infinitive, and not as the ones with the plain infinitive (although they have the same form).

However, if one takes into consideration the historical development of the infinitive in Portuguese, one can see that the drop of its forms is a further step in the development of the infinitive in the language, as it will be shown in the small excursus below (*cf.* sec. 2.1.1 on p. 20), before carrying on with the specific forms of the infinitive in SBP, CBP and NeBP.

In addition to the shared functions and the historical development of these constructions without inflection, one can also include the importance of the overt subject not only in the constructions of the inflected infinitive but also in all other syntactic constructions

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[40] 'CBP-I' stands for 'Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese – type I', i.e., the colloquial variant in which the inflected infinitive appears with its various morphemes, and 'CBP-II' stands for 'Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese – type II' i.e., the colloquial variant of CBP in which the inflection of this kind of infinitive has been dropped completely. These two types are variant forms that occur in the colloquial language and they will be better explained in sec. 2.1, when dealing with the forms of the inflected infinitive.
[41] *cf.* sec. 2.1.2, for SBP; and sec. 2.1.3, for CBP-I.
[42] *cf.* sec. 2.1.3 for CBP-II; and sec. 2.1.4, for NeBP.

of BP, since overt subjects have been much more used in the spoken and written languages nowadays.

Teyssier (1976), who also includes the zero-morpheme in the inflectional paradigm of the inflected infinitive, points out that the overt subject is rather compulsory for disambiguating the meaning of the inflected infinitive, as follows:

"A la 1^re et à la 3e personne du singulier on ne peut se passer du pronome, car le verbe à la "désinence zero" serait autrement ambigu. A toutes les autres personnes il est possible de s'en passer, puisque la désinence à elle seule porte la marque de la personne." (cf. Teyssier, 1976:236)[43]

However, in addition to these forms presented by Teyssier, there are also other forms (such as the ones with the suffix *–em* in agreement with *vocês* ('you', 2pl neutral) and with *eles/elas* ('they', 3plM/F)), that are ambiguous in SBP. In these cases, the overt subject (either as a pronoun or as a lexical subject) very often occurs in spite of their inflection.

In relation to the non-standard varieties, in which there are many repetitions of subjects as references to reestablish the context (i.e., to set them up anew as the focus of the assertion), the importance of the overt subject is even greater. On the one hand, there is a general tendency to simplify the inflectional system in BP (e.g., some personal pronouns are replaced by collective words[44] whose verbs are inflected in the third person singular (i.e. mostly in the basic form (verbal root + thematic vowel), or simply in -Ø), simplifying the system; on the other hand, the overt subject is almost always present in the sentence in order to reestablish the references of the context. For this reason, it seems that the overt subject has become an important element in the morphosyntactic development of the language in order to keep the balance of the system against general simplification (cf. Cerqueira, 1993:138).[45]

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[43] i.e. "By the 1st and 3rd person singular one cannot leave the pronoun out, since the verb with the zero-morpheme would be otherwise ambiguous. By all the other persons it is possible to leave it out, because the inflection only (attached) to it signals the person." (cf. Teyssier, 1976:236)

[44] e.g. *nós* (1pl) can be replaced by *a gente* (lit. 'the people') and the inflection on the verb is thus simplified from -*mos* into -Ø, such as in: *A gente quer-ø café*, i.e. 'We want coffee'. This occurs also with the remaining pronouns, except for *eu* (1sg). For example, *tu* (2sg) and *vós* (2pl) are replaced by *você*(-*s*) (2sg/pl) – these pronouns evolved from the old form of address *Vossa Mercê*, i.e. 'Your Benevolence', which was later contracted to *vossamecê > vosmecê > você*, and one can still hear it as *ocê* or *cê*; however, the simplification of verbal inflection towards the basic form or –Ø only occurs with the singular form. Besides, *eles/elas* (3pl.M/F) can be replaced by *o pessoal, o povo, a galera*, etc. (lit. 'the people', 'the people', 'the band/gang', respectively), making the inflection change from -*m* into -Ø, such as in: *O povo gosta-ø do candidato*, i.e. 'They like the candidate'. Thus, the whole inflectional paradigm for the verb can be simplified in non-standard varieties of BP using only three forms, i.e. the inflection for *eu* (1sg), the one for *ele/ela* (3sg), and the one for *vocês* (2pl), as presented by Cerqueira (cf. Cerqueira, 1993:138).

[45] Cerqueira (1993) points out that this simplification brings as a result the fact that the distinction singular/plural is no longer based on inflectional elements but it depends almost entirely on the presence of a lexicalized subject, now (*cf.* Cerqueira, 1993:138).

All this shows the necessity of acknowledging the meaning of the infinitive with a zero-morpheme associated with an overt subject, so that it may not be confused as a plain infinitive, and the necessity of recognizing the importance of the overt subject associated with an inflected infinitive as part of the whole construction, regardless if the infinitive is inflected with an unambiguous personal morpheme (i.e., *-mos* of the pronoun *nós*) or with an ambiguous morpheme (i.e. in Ø and in *–em*).

In the following sections I will first present an excursus about the theory of historical development of infinitive in Portuguese, based on Mauer (1966), in order to justify the inclusion of infinitive constructions with the zero-morpheme in the whole process; then I will continue presenting the forms of the inflected infinitive in three different language varieties (SBP, CBP and NeBP), before presenting the different applications of this kind of infinitive that will be analyzed within RRG.

2.1.1 The Romance-Based Theory of the Origin of the Inflected Infinitive[46]

According to the theory initiated by Diez (1836), the inflected infinitive has its beginning when it first appeared with a nominative subject, that is, when the Romance infinitive developed a new function, enabling the infinitive to have its own nominative subject, which could be co-referential to the one of the main verb or not.[47]

This innovation enabled sentences like these in Romance languages:

(10) a. "Te   fuiste   sin   saberlo   yo."
        2sg.Refl go.PERF.2sg without know.INF-3sg.ACC 1sg.NOM
        'You went away without without my knowledge.'   (Modern Spanish)[48]

      b. "Comprese la reina   ella   essere   la sua figliuola".
        Understood the queen NOM.1sg be.INF the her daughter
        'The queen understood that she was her daughter'   (Medieval Italian)[49]

      c. "Por le vilain crever   d'envie,   chanterai de cuer liement".
        For the villain die.INF with envy, I will sing of heart joyfully
        'For the villain to begrudge I will sing happily'   (Medieval French)[50]

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[46] Although Scida (2004:87-107) identifies four different theories (the creative theory, the analogy theory, the composite and the imperfect subjunctive theory), they can be basically grouped into two main theories on the origin of the inflected infinitive: the Romance-based and the Latin-based approaches (*cf.* Martins, 1999:208), being the former more popular among scholars than the later (*cf.* Martins, 1999:209). These pieces of information serve solely to demonstrate that the theory presented by Maurer (i.e., the creative theory, in Scida's terminology, or, using Martins's term, the Romance-based approach) is not the only one.
[47] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:68; Scida, 2004:88.
[48] *cf.* Spauding, 1931, cited by Kliffer, 1978:77.
[49] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:71.

However, sentences like these were restricted to few functions in these languages.[51] In Portuguese (and Galician) though, in which a further step in the development of the Romance infinitive occurred, i.e. the inflection of the infinitive, it was able to omit the subject and, even so, to indicate a subject different from the one of the main verb, enabling thus the language to expand its array of syntactic functions.

According to Maurer (1968), the inflection did not occur simultaneously to the appearance of the nominative subject, and to its various functions, but rather it was a four-step process: (i) the appearance of an infinitive controlled by a preposition in Vulgar Latin; (ii) the creation of an infinitival clause (normally controlled by a preposition) with a nominative subject in Romance Languages; (iii) the transference of the inflection of the finite verb to the infinitive by analogy; and, (iv) the slow but gradual expansion of the use of the inflected infinitive to constructions in which only the plain infinitive had been initially applied (*cf*. Maurer, 1968:100-101).

Curiously, Maurer disregards the forms without inflection occurring in the inflectional paradigm, because, for him, they would "not teach anything about the use of the one or the other form" of the inflected infinitive.[52] However, if Maurer had associated the zero-morphemes of SBP with the ones of the colloquial varieties and dialects, he could have recognized it as a further step in the development of the infinitive, at least in BP, taking into account the general tendency to simplification[53] and, at the same time, the growing importance of the overt subject for disambiguation.

Since the reduction to the zero-morpheme is not complete in the inflectional paradigm (e.g. in SBP and in CBP-I), so as to leave it out completely, the inclusion of this morpheme (-Ø) in the constructions where the infinitive does not have its own inflection can serve to indicate on the verb the functions of the inflected infinitive that distinguish it from the plain infinitive. Thus, I will consider the zero-morpheme in the representation of the forms of the SBP, CBP and NeBP in this study.

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[50] *cf*. Maurer, 1968:72.
[51] According to Maurer (1968), the most usual kind of infinitive in Spanish, French and Italian was the one controlled by a preposition (*cf*. Maurer, 1968:98).
[52] *cf*. Maurer, 1968, preface.
[53] In the 1960s, there were already some important studies on single dialects (e.g., Amaral (1920) about the dialect of Rio de Janeiro, Nascentes (1922) about the dialect of São Paulo, etc.), in which this tendency to simplification is explained. In the present analysis, this simplification will be exemplified in the sections 2.1.3 (on CBP) and 2.1.4 (about NeBP – mainly based on Marroquim (1996[1934]).

2.1.2 The Forms of the Inflected Infinitive and the Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP)

In the communicative functions of SBP (*cf.* Azevedo, 2005: 260, cited above on p. 11), where the social pressure to use the prescribed rules of normative grammar is great, the inflected infinitive has its full-fledged diversification in its inflectional paradigm. Even the person that is not found in non-standard varieties, i.e. *vós* (2pl), can occasionally be found with its corresponding agreement on the infinitive verb as an archaism, for instance, in situations that portray scenes of the past, or when classic texts are presented without an adaptation for the present in the literature (e.g., in novels, short stories, poems, the Bible, etc.), in the theater (e.g., in plays, monologues, etc.) and on TV (e.g., in films, soap operas, etc.), as shown below:

For instance, Alencar's novel *O Guarani* ('The Guarani'), which was written in 1857, was adapted into a TV mini-series (1991), preserving the language of that time. There, one can find such a construction with an inflected infinitive in the second person plural (2pl):

(11) "[…]o trabalho de procurar-des defensores para vossa família […]"

      the work of search.INF.2pl defenders for your family

     "the work for you to search defenders for your family" (*cf.* Alencar, 1999 [1857]:7)

(12) "[…]Ao chegar-des à beira das águas do Jordão, no Jordão vos detereis.[…]"

     At the arrive.Inf.2pl on the board of the waters, on the Jordan you will stay.

     'When you arrive on the board of the waters of the Jordan, on the Jordan you will stay.' (*cf.* Joshua, 3:8b)

Thus, the inflected infinitive presents all its forms, even though they might sound old-fashioned or even strange to the majority of the population, for this reason the inflectional paradigm of the inflected infinitive in SBP is as shown in (13):

(13)   SBP

     1sg eu falar-ø

     2sg tu falar-es

     2sg você falar-ø

     3sg ele/ela falar-ø

     1pl nós falar-mos

     2pl vós falar-des

     2sg vocês falar-em

     3sg eles falar-em

2.1.3 The Forms of Inflected Infinitive and the Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (CBP)

Due to the naturalness of the situations, in which the communicative functions of CBP occur (cf. Azevedo, 2005:260, shown in sec. 1.1), there is less pressure to follow the rules of the Prescriptive Grammar. However, as this variety is not uniform but rather a spectrum of various colloquial levels, it is possible to find the inflected infinitive as in SPB, although it is much more common for it to occur without agreement. As the following example shows, the informal character of a forum allows the CBP user to relax with the grammar, expressed by the elision of the preposition *pra* (i.e. *para*, 'for') with the personal pronoun *eles* (3pl.M), even though he uses the inflected infinitive as in SBP:

(14)   "[...] já   pedi preles   acrescentar-em [...]"

      already asked for 3pl.M.NOM include.INF.3pl

      'I have already asked them to include [it]' (cf. Dealextreme Product Forum)[54]

However, Teyssier (1990 [1980]) points out that, in some colloquial varieties that are perceived as "vulgar" language, there is no verbal inflection in the inflected infinitive[55]. For instance, one can see this lack of inflection in Molho's (1959) example of a colloquial variety in Rio de Janeiro, where the use of the inflection would be considered "slightly pedantic" (*cf.* Molho, 1959:37 cited by Schulte, 2004:84), contrary to Teyssier's point of view.

(15)   "Apois de meus irmãos chegar-ø"

      after my brothers arrive.INF.3pl

      'After my brothers arrive'   (*cf.* Molho, 1959)

For this reason, I will consider two kinds of constructions: CBP-I (in 16.a), in which the inflection would normally occur, and the CBP-II (in 16.b), which is without any kind of verbal inflection. Besides, in CBP the personal pronoun *vós* (2pl) is no longer used, whereas *tu* (2pl) is still used in some regions of Brazil. They are replaced by *você* (*-s*), respectively, as shown in (16.a) and (16.b).

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[54]*cf.* Dealextreme Product Forum, http://www2.dealextreme.com/forums/Forums.dx/Forum.-101~threadid.506 880. Last visited: 14.11.10).

[55] (*cf.* Teyssier, 1980:109, i.e. "[…] Quant à la flexion verbale, elle pourra être très simplifiée : plus de future ni de conditionnel, plus d'infinitif flexionné […]", 'As for the verbal inflection, it can be very simplified: no use of the future, of the conditional and of the inflected infinitive […]'. It is important to note that Teyssier does not affirm it as if it were always the case that there is no verbal inflection; instead he refers to it as a possibility of some colloquial varieties.

(16)	a.	CBP-I	b.	CBP-II

1sg	eu falar-ø	1sg eu falar-ø
2sg	tu[56] falar-es	2sg tu falar-ø
2sg	você falar-ø	2sg você falar-ø
3sg	ele/ela falar-ø	3sg ele/ela falar-ø
1pl	nós[57] falar-mos	1pl nós falar-ø
2pl	——	2pl ——
2pl	vocês falar-em	2pl vocês falar-ø
3sg	eles[58] falar-em	3sg eles falar-ø

2.1.4 The Forms of the Inflected Infinitive and the dialect of the Northeastern Region of Brazil (NeBP)

Following the general tendency of simplification in BP, the dialect NeBP eliminates almost all verbal inflections (except for some forms of a past tense, i.e. *Pretérito Perfeito*), because the NeBP user assigns the task of indicating the grammatical persons to the pronoun alone (cf. Marroquim, 1996[1934]:57).

Accordingly, the inflected infinitive follows this general tendency of the dialect, eliminating the personal inflection. Examples of this way of speaking can be found in folk literature, such as *Cordel literature*[59], popular poets, regional authors, as well as, nowadays, in TV shows and on the theater.

For instance, Ascenso Ferreira, a Brazilian Poet, writes in his poem *Carnaval de Recife* two examples of the inflected infinitive: in the first one (in 17.a), he neither inflects the infinitive nor puts the nouns in the plural form – this idea is just signalized by their articles in the plural – thus characterizing the natural language of the people of the region; however, in the second example (in 17.b), the infinitive is inflected and the nouns and their articles agree in gender and number (as in SBP), in order to distinguish the language of the narrator from the one of the carnivalesque celebrants.

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[56] *Tu* can take turns with *você*.
[57] *Nós* can be replaced by *a gente*.
[58] *Eles/elas* can be substituted by o pessoal, o povo, etc. (*cf. fn*. 44).
[59] Cordel literature is popular literature in form of folk novels, poems and songs printed as booklets in the Northeast of Brazil.

(17) a. "Chegô o tempo das   muié   largá-ø[60]   os home!"

      arrived the time of the.pl woman   leave.INF.3pl the.pl man

      'The time has come for the women to leave the men!'

   b. "Chegou foi o   tempo d'elas   pegar-em   os homens [...]."

      arrived was the time   of NOM.3pl grasp.INF.3pl the men

      'It was the time for them to grasp the men that has come.' (*cf.* Ferreira, 1999[1953])

In *Cordel* literature it is also common to find the personal uninflected form as shown in (18):

(18) a. "[...] implorava à multidão [...] para os jagunço atirá-ø mas não sangrá-ø

         begged to the crowd for the.pl hired rowdy shoot.INF.3pl but not bleed.INF.3.pl

         os cristão."

         the.pl Christian

         '[he] begged to the crowd so that the hired rowdies may shoot but not kill the

         Christians' (*cf.* Queirós, 1973:322)

In this example, the plural morpheme *-s* attached to the article has scope over the whole infinitive constructions. Even though this kind of personal uninflected form is the standard form in NeBP for inflected infinitive, it is still possible to find examples with inflection, in which the text is edited as in SBP, such as in (19):

(19) a. "[...] o eleitor perdeu toda animação   nas promessas mentirosas

         the voter lost   all   enthusiasm in the promises lying

         feitas por sujeitos prosas pra ganhar-em   posição"

         of   chatters   to   win.INF.3pl position

         'the voter lost all his enthusiasm for the false promises of chatters in order for

         them to win their position' (*cf.* Diégues Júnior, 1973:104)

For that matter, Sobrinho (1977:40) explains that nowadays such edited examples, in which the artist corrects his text so as to reach both NeBP and the SBP users, are much more common than the natural ones which reflect the real way of speaking of the region. For this reason, the edited examples that show inflection will be ignored in this study. Thus, the paradigm for the inflected infinitive with its personal uninflected forms is as follows:

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[60] The word *largá* (i.e., to leave) is a possible form for the infinitive in NeBP in the first declension (i.e., in *-ar*), in which the r is not pronounced (cf. Marroquim, 1996[1934]:30). In the other two declensions (i.e., *-er* and *-ir*) the r can also be dropped, appearing as *-ê* and *-i*, respectively, although they can also appear as in SBP (i.e., *-er* and *-ir*).

(20)		NeBP (with the '*r*')		NeBP (without the '*r*')[61]
	a.	1sg eu falar-ø	b.	1sg eu falá-ø
		2sg tu falar-ø		2sg tu falá-ø
		2sg você falar-ø		2sg você falá-ø
		3sg ele/ela falar-ø		3sg ele/ela falá-ø
		1pl nós falar-ø		1pl nós falá-ø
		2pl vós[62] falar-ø		2pl vós falá-ø
		2pl ——		2pl ——
		3sg eles falar-ø		3sg eles falá-ø

2.2 The different applications of the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese

According to the Romance-based theory (shown above), there was a slow but gradual expansion of the syntactic functions of the inflected infinitive, reaching all situations of the plain infinitive provided that they could admit a subject, as Maurer explains:

> "Em linhas gerais, a forma idiomática portuguêsa [*sc.* the inflected infinitive] se emprega em tôdas as construções normais do infinitivo romântico comum, naturalmente desde que êste possa admitir sujeito expresso ou não, necessário ou possível, pouco importa [...]" (*cf.* Maurer,1966:88).[63]

In Maurer's distribution, three different situations are considered: (i) the infinitive cannot be inflected at all, because the action is abstract and its subject cannot be recovered (impersonal); (ii) the infinitive must be inflected, because the action is personal and its subject is overt; and (iii) the infinitive can be inflected, because the action can be considered either abstract (impersonal) or personal, because the subject is not overt and so the meaning depends on the speaker's intention (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:135-155).

Since the presence of an overt subject *per se* does not mean that the infinitive should be inflected (e.g., in CBP and in NeBP), and the subject itself is included in the personal infinitival construction in this analysis (for the reasons explained above), I will not use

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[61] One can also find *-á* instead of *-ar* as the infinitive suffix in the first declension in NeBP, as explained in *fn.* 60.

[62] According to Marroquim (1934), the NeBP user applies all three forms related to the second person (*tu*, *você* and *vós*), although *tu* is more used than the others and vós less used in this group. He explains that, since there is just one verbal inflection for the second and third persons in the dialect, all three forms were preserved, even though *vós* is no longer used in CBP (cf. Marroquim, 1996 [1934]: 85). The pronoun *vós* can also appear as *vóis* or *voi*.

[63] i.e., 'In general terms, the Portuguese idiomatic form is applied in all normal constructions of the simple Romance infinitive, naturally provided that it can admit a subject, expressed or not, necessary or possible, it does not matter.'

Maurer's distribution here. Instead, I will follow Scida's (2004:126-127) suggestion for this distribution, which is rather based on the syntactic contexts. Thus, the uses of the inflected infinitive will be divided into complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses.

2.2.1 Complement clauses

The inflected infinitive can be found as a complement to *verba dicendi* (e.g., *dizer*, *contar*, etc.), causative verbs (e.g., *fazer* 'to make', *mandar* 'to order', *deixar* 'let/allow' etc.), verb of perception (e.g., *ver* 'to see', *ouvir* 'to hear', *sentir* 'feel', etc.), factive verbs (e.g. *lamentar* 'regret') as in the following examples:

(21)   a. Foi uma alegria meus filhos me visitarem   (as a posponed subject, SBP)[64]

      was a   joy   my children me visit.INF.3pl

      'It was a joy that my children visited me.'

    b. "Ontem eu vi   as Roquetes dançar-ø/-em."   (as the object of a verb of

      Yesterday I saw the Rockettes dance.INF.3pl   perception, CBP-II/SBP)[65]

      'Yesterday I saw the Rockettes dance.'

    c. "Tadeu lamenta profundamente estarmos desempregados"   (as the object of a

      Tadeu regrets   deeply   be_unemployed.INF.1pl   factive verb, SBP)[66]

      'Tadeu deeply regrets that we are unemployed'

    d. "Deixa eu   ficar-ø   mais um pouco." (object of a causative verb, CBP-II)[67]

      Let   NOM.1sg stay.INF.1sg more a   little.

      'Let me stay a little longer.'

2.2.2   Adverbial Clauses

The inflected infinitive can occur as adverbial clauses expressing cause, purpose, concession, time, etc. According to Scida(2004:126), it is in adverbial clauses that one can find the most frequent environment for the use of the inflected infinitive.

2.2.2.1 Purposive clauses

(22)   a. "[…] vamos dar um pulo até lá, para vocês ver-em aquelas pedras velhas!"

      [we] go give a jump till there, for NOM.2pl see.INF.2pl those stones old

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[64] *cf.* Perini, 2002:208.
[65] *cf.* Azevedo, 2005:142.
[66] *cf.* Perini, 2002:497.
[67] *cf.* Perini, 2002:.214. In SBP, this sentence would be: 'Deixe-me ficar mais um pouco.', in which the object form of the pronoun would be the object of the main verb and the subject of the infinitive, building an *accusativum cum infinitivo* (A.c.I), according to the old Latin pattern. For specific information on this aspect of the language, *cf.* Neves, 2000:453, Macambira, 2001 [1973]:236-239, Perini, 2002:213-215.

'Let's go there, so that you can see those old stones!' (CBP-I)[68]

b. "Ele fez tudo   preu   fracassar-ø".

  He did everything for NOM.1sg fail.INF.-ø

  'He did everything so that I might fail' (CBP-II)[69]

c. "Me leve pr'onde   quisé /   Pr'eu   fazê-ø   todo os mandado /

  Me take wherever you want for NOM.1sg make.INF.1sg all   the.pl order

  Pru móde eu   brocá-ø   de foice [...]"   (NeBP)[70]

  For   NOM.1sg fight.INF.1sg of sickle

 'Take me wherever you want, so that I can carry out all the orders, so that I can fight

  with a sickle.'

2.2.2.2 Temporal clause introduced by *antes de* 'before', *até* 'until', *ao* 'when/by the time', *depois de* 'after', etc.

(23)   a. "Espero   que tenham concluído   o   trabalho antes de voltar-mos"

         hope.PRES.1sg that [they] have finished the work   before   return.INF.1pl.

         'I hope that they have finished the work before we return.'   (*antes de*, SBP)[71]

       b. Nós ficaremos   em casa   até   eles   chegar-em.

         We stay.FUT.lpl at home until 3pl.NOM arrive.INF.3pl

         'We will stay at home, until they come.'   (*até*, SBP)

       c. "Ao   chegar-mos   alí,   soubemos do   acontecido"

         By the arrive.INF.1pl there knew   of the happenings

         'When we arrived there, we were informed about the happenings'   (*ao*, SBP)[72]

       d. "Depois de acabar-es o trabalho, podes sair."

         After finish.INF.2sg the work, [you] can go

         'After finishing the work, you can go out'   (*depois de*, SBP)[73]

2.2.2.3 Causal clauses introduced by *por* 'for/because'

(24)   "Alegram-se   por ter-em visto o   pai"

       be-happy.PRES.3pl themselves for see.PERF.3pl the father

       'They are happy because they have seen their father.'   (SBP)[74]

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[68] Suassuana, 1972:134.

[69] *cf*. Suassuna, 1972.571.

[70]   *cf*. Marroquim, 1996[1934]:132. In this example, one can find two purposive clauses with different prepositions: *pra* (i.e., *para*) 'for/to' and *pru móde* (i.e. *por amor de* 'for the sake of'), meaning 'for/in order to' or even 'because' (cf. op.cit., p. 74).

[71] cf. Maurer, 1968:237.

[72] *cf. op.cit.*, p. 170.

[73] *cf.* Teyssier, 1976:238.

2.2.2.4 Concessive Clauses introduced by *apesar de* 'despite/although'

(25) […] Apesar de terem   razão, não convenceram   ninguém."

       Although   have.INF.3pl reason, not convince.PRET.3pl nobody

       'Although they are right, they did not convince anybody'   (SBP)[75]

2.2.3 Relative Clauses

The third group consists of relative clauses, both in headless constructions and as complement of nouns and of adjectives, such as in (18) and (19), respectively:

(26) a. "[...] não terão   com que se   aparelhar-em   para a safra vindoura."

       not will-have with what themselves prepare.INF.3pl for the harvest coming

       'they will not have [anything] with which to prepare themselves for the

       coming harvest'   (headless relative clause, SBP)[76]

(27) a. "Ele oferecia […] a liberdade de sacudir-mos   as pernas à vontade."

       He offered   the freedom of shake.INF.1pl the legs   at will

       'He offered [us] the freedom of putting our feet up at will.'

       (as a complement of a noun, CBP-I)[77]

    b. "Encontrei   algumas pessoas desejosas de conhecerem   melhor o assunto"

       find.PERF.1sg some   people   interested of know.INF.3pl better the topic

       'I found some people who are interested in knowing the topic better'

       (as a complement of an adjective, SBP)[78]

2.3. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, a general view of the inflected infinitive was presented in terms of its definition and properties, its forms and its various applications in SBP, CBP and NeBP.

By comparing the two kinds of infinitive verbs in Portuguese, one could see that the inflected infinitive has properties not only of the second type, i.e. the plain infinitive (e.g., as a nominal form, the possibility to occurs in different argument positions in the sentence), but also of the finite verb (e.g., bearing its own subject in the nominative case and coding for person and number).

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[74] *cf.* Napoleão, 1999:545.
[75] *cf.* Teyssier, 1976:238.
[76] *cf.* Antonil, cited by Scida, 2004:122.
[77] *cf.* Rego, 1987 [1933]:49.
[78] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:194.

Since not every inflected infinitive can be formally differentiated from the plain one, most scholars leave some forms out of their analyses. However, if one considers the general tendency of BP for simplification of forms as well as the increasing use of overt subjects, even in constructions where the inflection already indicates the subject of the action expressed by the verb, one can see that it is necessary to distinguish those constructions without inflection that are associated with overt subjects from the infinitival constructions of the plain infinitive. Not only because they have other functions that the plain infinitive does not have, but also because the personal uninflected ones suggest a progress in the development of the infinitive in Portuguese, following a general tendency of BP (shown in sec. 2.1.1). For these reasons, the zero-morpheme of the SBP, CBP and NeBP was included in this study, whenever it could be associated to an overt subject.

After having established the criteria for the description of the forms of the inflected infinitive, they were presented in SBP, CBP and NeBP. In SBP, one can find the inflected infinitive in its full-fledged diversity and in accordance with the prescriptive grammar. There, the second person plural (i.e., vós), which is not found in the CBP anymore, is used as a sign of archaism in some contexts. In CBP, a distinction between CBP-I (similar to SBP) and CBP-II (unguarded variant) was made in order to include all possible forms, considering the fact that the so-called 'Brazilian dialect' was not enough studied in order to make categorical assumptions. In the third variety, NeBP, the prescriptive grammar is much less observed as in CBP. There, due to the tendency of eliminating inflection, the task of indicating the subject of a verb is left exclusively to the pronoun, and the idea of plural is just expressed by one of the determiners (normally the first one), but it has scope over the whole nominal phrase.

These three language varieties of BP present slightly different forms of the inflected infinitive; however they can express the same functions, as shown in the examples in sec. 2.2. For the distribution of the applications, Scida's (2004) suggestion was used, in which the inflected infinitive is presented in three main groups: the complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. From these examples, a small selection will be chosen so as to be analyzed under the framework of RRG in chapter 5.

In the following chapter, some accounts on the inflected infinitive will be presented, in order to give an overview of how this language phenomenon has been studied.

3. Review of Some Previous Accounts

In this chapter, a small selection of previous accounts will be briefly presented, in order to give a rough idea of the syntactic study of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese.

These accounts can be divided into two groups: a grammatical group, in which some grammarians try either to prescribe rules or, intuitively, to figure out the principles behind this phenomenon, making predictions for its use; and a linguistic group, in which theoretical frameworks for the syntactic analysis is applied to characterize the inflected infinitive.

In general, these accounts try to answer two important questions on the actual uses of the inflected infinitive: (i) how to define the correct use of the inflected infinitive; and (ii) whether the use of the inflected infinitive is a matter of choice.

The first question has to do with the criteria taken into consideration by these scholars, who try to define the correct use of the infinitive with person marking, following one of the main criteria shown in (28).

(28)   a. Explanation of various examples with lists of prescriptive rules (grammatical aspect).

b. A matter of style/logic (stylistic aspect).

c. The complementary use of the inflected infinitive in relation to the plain infinitive (syntactic aspect).

d. The inflected infinitival construction in relation to the main clause or to its immediate constituents (syntactical-semantic aspect).

The second question involves the use of the inflected infinitive in terms of whether it is compulsory in certain contexts or whether it is always optional. This question is directly related to every criterion shown above, and it has certainly influenced the development of the previous accounts, making them draw different conclusions, given its diversity.

3.1 Some Grammatical Accounts

In this section, five grammatical accounts on the inflected infinitive will be presented, and only the SBP language variety is actually discussed, for the reasons presented in the introduction. In most cases, in which the use of other varieties is still introduced, it is to show a certain use diverging from the norm that is not allowed by the prescriptive grammar.

3.1.1   Soares Barbosa (1822)

Barbosa (1822) is considered to be the first grammarian of modern times to handle the inflected infinitive in Portuguese. Actually, he is best known for suggesting imprecise rules for its use by his reviewers (such as Said Ali (1908), Almeida (1965), Maurer (1968), etc.), despite the fact that this topic is just secondary in his *Gramática Philosophica*, which tries to

break up with the classic grammar model by presenting the language in terms of the Port-Royal Grammar.[79]

For Barbosa, the infinitive functions in general as a coexisting attributive idea (e.g. to the subject of the main verb) that is abstract and undetermined in terms of time but specifiable in terms of aspect (perfective and imperfective).

For the distinctive uses of the two kinds of infinitive, Barbosa proposes two rules for the plain one and two rules for the inflected one[80], namely:

(29)   a. The plain infinitive is used: (i) when the subject of the main clause is the same as the one of the infinitival construction; and

(ii) when the 'verbal substantive' (i.e. the infinitival construction) does not need to be specified, by occurring with a subject (as an attribute), or as the predicate of the clause (i.e. with auxiliary verbs), or as the complement of another verb (i.e. in control constructions with *querer* 'want' or with a modal verb), or with a preposition (as its argument).

b. The inflected infinitive is used: (i) when the subject of the infinitival is different from the one of the main verb, in order to avoid ambiguity; and

(ii) when the infinitival construction of the rule (29.a.ii) is no longer abstract, but personal (i.e, also for disambiguity of the context).

For these rules, Barbosa received much criticism for being vague and contradictory. For instance, Said Ali (1908) criticizes Barbosa (1822) for misinterpreting Camões' use of the inflected infinitive. Following his rules, Barbosa considers the author's sentences (30.a) and (30.b) wrong, because, as the subject is the same both in the main clause and in the infinitival construction, there should be no inflection on the infinitive.

(30)   a. "E folgarás   de ver-es   a   polícia"   (SS)
         and rejoice.FUT.2sg of see.INF.2sg the police

        'And you will rejoice to see the police.'

        b. Não te   espantes /   de a Baccho   nos teus Reinos receber-es   (SS)

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[79] *cf.* Ranauro, 2003:253-265.
[80] cf. Barbosa, 1822:283-284.

Not yourself be-afraid.IMP.2sg of to Bacchus in   your realms receive.INF.2sg

'Do not be afraid of receiving Bacchus in your realms.'

According to Said Ali (1908), Camões' uses of the inflected infinitive are justifiable, because he wants to emphasize the subject of the infinitival construction (i.e. Catual would see it with his own eyes) in (2.a)[81], and to disambiguate the subject of the infinitive (i.e. not Bacchus, but Netuno is the subject of the verb), in (2.b).[82] For Maurer (1968), what is missing in Barbosa's rules is a clear definition of the uses of the plain infinitive and of the inflected one, since his rules overlap in part, and his examples not always demonstrate his rules[83].

Although Barbosa's rules are not able to account for all the examples of the inflected infinitive, he managed to bring the topic into discussion.

3.1.2 Friedrich Diez (1858-1860 [1836-1844])

Another important initial work on the inflected infinitive was presented by Diez (1836-44), by the father of the linguistic studies of the Romance languages, in his *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, in which he tries to characterize its use with a general rule, as in (31), and some comments on special cases, shown below.

(31)   The inflected infinitive occurs only in situations, in which it can be replaced by a finite verb, that is, in which it is no longer subordinated to the main verb. In doing so, it does not matter if it has his own subject or not.[84]

In his general rule, the inflected infinitive is not restricted to the cases, in which it has its own subject, as in the rules proposed by Barbosa (1822), shown above; but it also includes the ones, in which it has the same subject as the one of the main verb, as shown in his examples in (32)[85].

(32)   a. "Deos te   desembarace o juizo para te   remediares"   (DS)

          God you.DAT free.IMP   the mind for   yourself heal.INF.2sg

          'May God clear your thoughts for you to be healed.'

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[81] *cf.* Said Ali, 1908:114.
[82] According to Said Ali (1908), Barbosa includes the preposition *a* 'to' that is not existent in Camões' sentence (2.b). Without this preposition, the subject of the infinitive is not clear, and, for this reason, the inflected infinitive is necessary for disambiguation of the context (*cf.* Said Ali, 1908:115-116).
[83] *cf.* Maurer, 1968:125-128.
[84] i.e. : 'Es geschieht indessen nur da, wo er sich in einen bestimmten Modus umsetzen läßt, wo er also aus seiner Abhängigkeit von dem regierenden Verbum (sic.) heraustreten kann. Dabei ist es gleichgültig, ob er sein eignes Subject (sic.) hat oder nicht.' (*cf.* Diez, 1860:212).
[85] These examples are transcribed from Diez's original text without correction.

    a'. "Deos te   desembarace o juizo   para que te remedies."   (DS)

        God you.DAT free.IMP   the mind for that yourself heal.PRES[86].2sg

        'May God clear your thoughts so that you may be healed.'

    b. "Não has [sc. tens]   vergonha de ganhares   tua vida tão torpemente."   (SS)

        Not have.PRES.2sg shame   of win.INF.2sg your life so filthily

        'You are not ashamed of earning your own living in such a dishonest way'

    b'. "Não has [sc. tens]   vergonha de que ganhas   tua vida tão torpemente."(SS)

        Not have.PRES.2sg shame   of that win.PRES.2sg your life so filthily

        'You are not ashamed of earning your own living in such a dishonest way'

Diez shows these sentences, among others, to illustrate the fact that the inflected infinitive only occurs in cases where it is possible to use a construction with a finite verb, as in (32.a') and (32.b'), whether it has its own subject (DS) or not (SS), as in (32.a) and (32.b), respectively. Additionally, he also makes some comments on special cases, shown in (33).

(33)   a. As the plain infinitive, the inflected infinitive joins the personal pronoun to form the subject or the object of the main sentence;

        b. If there is no special junction, the infinitive will depend on a modal verb and so it remains a plain infinitive;

        c. Sometimes, the inflection is omitted, if the context is clear without the inflected infinitive; and,

        d. Sometimes, the inflection is added arbitrarily.

For each comment, Diez gives some examples, which are not shown here so as not to exceed the scope of this study. In addition to the general rule and these comments, Diez also discusses the development of the Latin *accusativum cum infinitivo* (A.c.I.) constructions, which the inflected infinitival constructions in Portuguese progressively replaced, and he emphasizes that they are just identifiable when they are formed with personal pronouns (*cf.* Diez, 1860: 239-244).

According to Maurer (1968), Diez's general rule reveals a reliable linguistic intuition about an essential feature of the inflected infinitive, namely that it lost part of the undefined value of the plain infinitive, that is, of its properties as noun, getting closer to the constructions with finite verbs in terms of person marking (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:130).

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[86] In traditional terms, it is a subjunctive form of the verb. However, as Butler (2003) points out, "[…] RRG does not use 'mood' as a theoretical term to describe oppositions such as indicative vs. subjunctive […]". (*cf.* Butler, 2003:30). More specifically, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) explain that "[…] subjunctive mood is a combination of the irrealis and particular illocutionary force notions […] more basic categories, which need be distinguished." (*cf.* Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 42). Since the terminology used in this example is not crucial to the point at hand, I will just define the verb as 'heal.PRES.sg'.

Maurer also points out two drawbacks in Diez's representation of the inflected infinitive, besides not giving a complete analysis of all possible cases, such as in (34):

(34)   a. It is not clear when one should use the finite verb, instead of an infinitival construction;

      b. As in Barbosa (1822), it also does not explain, when a plain infinitive should be used instead of an inflected one, and conversely, nor when their use is facultative or obligatory;

Scida (2004) criticizes Diez's comment on the incompatibility of the co-occurrence of a modal verb and an inflected infinitive, considering it wrong; but she contradicts herself claiming the same as Diez, as shown below.

"[…] If the inflected infinitive is an inner predicate, as in monoclausal constructions such as causative or modal unions, it must appear in its uninflected form.[…]" (cf. Scida, 2004:17)

In Diez's representation, the use of a modal verb with a plain infinitive represents the fact that the infinitival construction is not linked to the main verb through a special junction, such as in a subordination, in which it is directly connected to the main verb (as one of its arguments, that is, as a subject or an object), or through a preposition (e.g., in an adverbial construction), etc.; but that it is linked to the main verb in a closer connection, forming a single verb phrase, in traditional terms. Although Scida(2004) criticizes Diez's comment, she does not present any example with the verbs used by Diez in an inflected infinitival construction; and even the only verb suggested by Diez that she uses, *querer* 'want', which is also considered by her as a modal verb, is presented with a plain infinitive, as predicted by Diez.[87] However, it is also possible to have an inflected infinitive with a modal verb, if it is distant from the main verb, as shown in (35).

(35)   "Devemos   ser   alguém, pensar   por nós mesmos,

      Must.PRES.1pl be.INF someone think.INF for ourselves

      saber   o que queremos,   sentirmo-nos   livres [...]"

      know.INF what want.PRES.1pl feel.INF.1pl-REFL.1pl free

      'We must be someone, think for ourselves, know what we want, feel free'[88]

From the four infinitives attached to the modal verb, just the last one is inflected, because it is far from the main verb and because of the reflexive, as Maurer pointed out.

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[87] *cf.* Scida, 2004:20-21.
[88] *cf.* Otoniel Mota, 1936:227, cited by Maurer, 1968:167.

Even if Diez's representation of the inflected infinitive cannot account for all the cases of the inflected infinitive, it is recognized by many scholars as an important reference, which is considered in almost all accounts that follow it.

3.1.3 Manuel Said Ali (1908[1950], 1921-1923 [1931])

Another prominent name associated with the study of the inflected infinitive is Said Ali in his *Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* 'Difficulties of the Portuguese Language' (1908) and in his *Gramática Histórica da Língua Portuguesa* 'Historical Grammar of the Portuguese Language' (1931).

Said Ali (1908) considers two sets of rules for the use of the plain infinitive (36.a-b) and of the inflected infinitive (37.a-c).

(36)   a. Whenever the verb indicates action in general, as if it were an abstract noun; or when one does not think of any specific person.

b. In compound and periphrastic constructions, except for the cases, in which the inflection is used to clarify the context, because the infinitive is separated from its auxiliary verb by some distance.[89]

In addition to these rules, Said Ali (1908) also suggests that the plain infinitive should be used when its subject (whether it is a noun or a pronoun) is in the oblique case, that is, when it is simultaneously the subject of the infinitive and the object of another verb. For this third rule, he also considers an exception, namely, when the author wants to emphasize the subject of the infinitive.

Parallel to the rules of the plain infinitive, Said Ali (1908) proposes three rules for the use of the inflected infinitive, shown in (37.a-c).

(37)   a. Whenever the infinitive comes with a nominative subject, whether it is a noun or a pronoun, having the same subject as the one of the main verb or a different one.

b. Whenever it is necessary to emphasize the actor, and to refer the action especially to a subject, either to avoid confusion, or to clarify the thought.

c. When the author intentionally emphasizes the person to whom the verb refers.[90]

According to Said Ali, these rules can be summarized as follows: (i) the simple compulsory agreement because of the presence of the nominative subject, as in (37.a); (ii) the

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[89] cf. Said Ali, 1908:116-117.
[90] cf. Said Ali, 1908:117.

use of the inflected infinitive for clarification of the context, as in (37.b); and (iii) the use of the inflected infinitive for emphasis of the actor, as in (37.c).

In his second work on the inflected infinitive, Said Ali (1931) presents a list of cases in which the use of the plain and of the inflected infinitives are explained (i) in terms of the kind of the main verbs (i.e., verbs of perception; of declaring, showing, thinking; causative verbs, etc.), (ii) in terms of the kind of clause the infinitival construction is attached to (i.e., interrogative clause, exclamative clause, etc), (iii) in terms of the intension of the author (anger, shame, fear, hope, coercion, etc.), explaining and providing examples of each case.

Maurer (1968) considers the first work of the Said Ali (1908), which influenced his own extensive work, as a bright and rational explanation of inflected infinitive, but he criticizes Said Ali's posterior works (1921-1923), which were included in Said Ali (1931), as inferior, because he limited himself to give scattered and incomplete rules about the various uses of plain and inflected infinitives (*cf*. Maurer, 1968:113).

3.1.4   Napoleão Almeida (1999 [1965])

Another grammarian that suggests a representation of the plain and of the inflected infinitive is Almeida (1965), who tries to characterize their uses, introducing the rules of Barbosa (1822) and Diez (1836-1844).

As he recognizes that the rules of his predecessors cannot account for all examples of the infinitive in Portuguese and that they even contradict each other sometimes, Almeida (1965) suggests his own rules, which are distributed into the following groups: (i) compound verb phrases; (ii) the Latin infinitival constructions (A.c.I.); (iii) the infinitival constructions preceded by a preposition linked to the main verb, nouns, adjectives; (iv) the distance from the main verb; and (v) interrogations and exclamation.

For the first group, Almeida (1965) suggests the use of the plain infinitive, because he considers that the finite (e.g., auxiliary verbs and modal verbs) and the infinitive form as "a single verb" (i.e., a single verb phrase), in which just the first can be inflected. He also includes infinitival constructions preceded by *com que* 'with what' in this group, since he assumes the ellipsis of the modal verb 'can', blocking the inflection of the infinitive, as shown in (38), below. However, as shown by Scida (2004:49-50), there is no evidence for the existence of this modal verb and, as Maurer's examples demonstrates (shown in (39)), there can be inflection in such constructions.

(38)   Tinham   muito com que se   (pudessem)   alegrar
       Have.PERF.3pl much with what themselves can.PERF.3pl be-happy.INF

'They had much to be happy about'

(39) "[...] não terão   com que se   aparelhar-em   para a safra vindoura."
            not will-have with what themselves prepare.INF.3pl for the harvest coming
            'they will not have [anything] with which to prepare themselves for the
            coming harvest'

The second group involves Latin infinitival constructions, that is, constructions with causative verbs, verbs of perception, and certain transitive verbs requiring preposition. As the Latin A.c.I. constructions, these constructions consist of an accusative subject and of a plain infinitive as its predicate. For Almeida (1965), the use of the inflected infinitive (with a nominative subject) in such constructions is ungrammatical, being just allowed for renowned artists due to their poetic license, such as in (40) showing an example of the inflected infinitive with a verb of perception.

(40) "[…] eu   vos$_i$ prometo,   filha$_i$,   que vejais$_i$
        1sg.NOM 2pl.DAT promise.PRES.1sg daughter.VOC CLM see.SUBJUNCT.2pl
        esquecerem-se   Gregos e   Romanos […]"
        forget.INF.3pl-REFL Greeks and Romans
        'I promise you, daughter, that you will see that they will forget the Greeks and the
        Romans.' (Camões, Os Lusíadas, Canto II cited by Almeida(1999:549))

This way, Almeida disregards the colloquial use of the inflected infinitive as shown in the introduction.

The third group concerns the use of plain infinitive in constructions with a preposition: (i) when the infinitive is equivalent either to the Latin present participle (e.g., *flores a recender cheiros = flores recendentes cheiros*, 'flowers emitting fragrances') or to the gerund (e.g., *estar a fazer = estar fazendo*, 'to be doing'), which is actually not common in BP, but in European Portuguese (EP); and (ii) when the infinitival construction modifies a noun or an adjective, the infinitive cannot be inflected. With regards to the second subgroup, Scida (2004:51) explains that these rules are insufficient, because there are instances of inflected infinitival constructions modifying nouns and adjectives (*cf*. chapter 2, sec. 2.3.3).

The fourth group involves the use of the inflected infinitive in constructions, in which the infinitive would be normally uninflected but, because it is separated by many words, it can be inflected for the sake of clarity, in two different situations: (i) when the infinitive that is introduced by a preposition occurs in the preverbal position (for this subgroup, Almeida gives examples of adverbial clauses which have the same subject as the main clause, such as in (41)); and (ii) when the infinitive occurs distant from the verb with person marking (here,

Almeida gives examples of modal verbs and auxiliary verbs linked to a sequence of infinitives, in which just the last one is inflected, such as in (42)).

(41)　"Para se　　consolar-em,　os infelizes dormiam tranqüilos"

　　　　CLM REFL console.INF.3pl the.plM unhappy.plM sleep.IMPERF.3pl tranquil.plM

　　　　'[In order] for them to take heart, the ill-fated ones slept peacefully'　　　(SS)

(42)　"Deviam-no　　　　　　　trazer　　todos vocês　　　　nas palmas,

　　　　Should.IMPERF.2pl-3sg.ACC bring.INF all　　you.pl.NOM in the palms

　　　　dar　　　　　mil　　graças aos céus, e　acabar-em　de crer."

　　　　give.INF [one] thousand thanks to　heaven and finish.INF.3pl of believe.INF

　　　　'All of you should treat him very carefully, give a thousand thanks to heaven,

　　　　and end up believing.'　　　(SS)

The last group involves interrogative clauses and exclamations. As for this group, Almeida (1965) just points out that, when the inflected infinitive is used, it means that the action refers to a specific subject.

In addition to these groups, Almeida (1965) introduces the case of the verb *parecer* 'to seem', which behaves in two different ways: the person marking can be indicated (i) either in the verb *parecer*, as shown in (43), or (ii) in the infinitive verb, such as in (44);

(43)　a. "Eles　　　　parecem　　　estar doentes"

　　　　3plM.NOM seem.PRES.3pl be.INF sick

　　　　'They seem to be ill'

　　　b. "Que pareciam　　　　　desprezar　as tribos bereberes"

　　　　CLM seem.IMPERF.3pl despise.INF the tribe.pl berebere.pl

　　　　'That they seemed to despise the berebere tribes'

(44)　a. "Eles　　　　parece　　　estar-em doentes"

　　　　3plM.NOM seem.PRES be.INF.3pl sick.pl

　　　　'They, it seems, are ill'

　　　b. "Os quais　　　　lhe　　pareceu　dirigir-em-se　　para os lados

　　　　PRO$_{REL}$.pl.[NOM] REFL seem.PERF head.INF.3pl-REFL to　the sides

　　　　do　célebre mosteiro"

　　　　of the famous monastery

　　　　'who, it seemed to him, were heading towards the famous monastery'

　　　c. "Lanças　　　　　que parecia　　　encaminhar-em-se"

　　　　spear[3plF.NOM] CLM seem.IMPERF go_to.INF.3pl-REFL

　　　　'Spears that seemed to take their way' / 'It seemed that [the] spears took their way'

As one could see above, the verb *parecer* presents two distinctive cases: (i) the case of 'raising to subject', in which the subject of the infinitival construction 'raises' to the subject position of the main verb that agrees with this subject, such as in (43.a-b); and (ii) the case of a parenthetical construction with the verb *parecer*, which does not present any person marking, but only tense, such as in (44.a-c).

With his rules, Almeida (1965) presents an alternative representation of the use of the plain and inflected infinitival constructions to the previous accounts. Because he does not try to formulate abstract rules, but he suggests rules to each single case, his account seems to be scattered and, in some cases, incoherent.

3.1.5 Theodoro Maurer (1968)

The most extensive and detailed account on the infinitive in Portuguese is O *Infinitivo Flexionado Português* 'The Portuguese Inflected Infinitive', which is considered by many as the most complete, interesting and pedagogically oriented work about this topic (Kliffer (1978:80), Gondar (1978:39,59), Scida (2004:56,89), Martins (1999:209)etc.). In his work, Maurer analyzes the inflected infinitive both diachronically (its origin and development) and synchronically (its present syntax). Since only his synchronic analysis of the infinitive is relevant for the present study, I will leave out the diachronic part in the following outline.

According to Maurer (1968), the uses of the plain and inflected infinitives can be summarized in three basic rules: (i) the plain infinitive must be used when there is no recoverable subject, that is, when the action expressed by the verb does not refer to any specific subject; (ii) the inflected infinitive must be applied when there is a subject, regardless if it is overt or not, identical to the one of the main verb or not; and (iii) when infinitival constructions are considered impersonal in other Romance languages, for having the same subject as the main verb, the infinitive verb can be either inflected or uninflected in Portuguese, although there might be a preference either for the plain infinitive or the inflected one each situation.

Conforming to his first rule, the use of the plain infinitive is compulsory when the verb is unambiguously impersonal, that is, (i) when it is linked to certain adjectives, nouns, or verbs through preposition or the relative pronoun *que* 'what/that'(in abstract sense), and (ii) when the infinitive functions as an imperative. In order to illustrate this rule, examples of infinitives linked to nouns are given in (45).

(45)   a. "Ouvi   coisas de arrepiar."
            hear.PERF.1sg things   of shiver.INF

'I have heard things that make [my] hair stand on end' (M. Lobato, 1920)[91]

b. "Dava   gemidos baixinhos,   doridos,   de cortarem   o   coração

give.IMPERF.3sg groans   very low.pl, painful.pl of cut.INF.3pl the heart

'[He/she/it] groaned very low and painfully, breaking [our] heart.'[92]

As one can see in (45.a), the infinitive *arrepiar* ('to shiver') linked to the noun *coisas* ('things') represents a situation that is not only true for the subject of the main verb, but also for anyone that would hear these things, hence the infinitive cannot be inflected. However, in (45.b), the infinitive *cortarem* ('cut') linked to the noun *gemidos* 'groans' is inflected, because, as Maurer explains, when the action is ascribed to the noun or adjective itself to which the infinitive is linked, then it becomes the subject of the infinitive (in an active sense); in this case, the infinitive follows the third rule (*cf.* (iv) of the third rule, below), in which the use of the inflection is facultative (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:139, *fn.* 91). This exception is ignored by Scida (2004:52-53, *fn.* 4), who unnecessarily criticizes Maurer and presents similar examples with the inflected infinitive in such constructions, as Maurer himself had shown.

Maurer's second rule refers to two specific situations: the inflected infinitive is compulsory (i) when the infinitive has an overt subject, which can be identical to the one of the main verb or not, such as in (46.a) and in (46.b), respectively; and (ii) even when the infinitive does not have an overt subject, it must be personal (i.e., inflected), if it refers to an agent not indicated in the context, such as in (47).

(46)   a. Quando os ingleses_i   se   rirem

When   the English.plM.NOM REFL laugh.SUBJUNCT.3pl

de eles_i   terem   muito dinheiro e   nós   pouco,

of 3plM.NOM have.INF.3pl much money   and 1pl.NOM little

torçamos   a orelha e   choremos"

twist.IMP.1pl the ear   and cry.IMP.1pl

'When the English laugh because they have much money and we [just] a little, let's repent and cry' (Herculano, 1851)[93]   (SS)

b. E   o tenente   disse   para nós   não saír-mos   mais de casa"

And the lieutenant say.PERF.3sg to   1pl.NOM NEG go_out.INF.1pl more of house

'And the lieutenant told us not to go out any longer' (Dupré, 1943)[94]   (DS)

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[91] *cf.* M. Lobato, 1920: 68, cited by Maurer, 1968:138.
[92] *cf.* J. Veríssimo, 1899:81, cited by Maurer, 1968:139.
[93] *cf.* Herculano, 1884 [1851]:198, cited by Maurer, 1968:146.
[94] *cf.* Dupré, 1943:114, cited by Maurer, 1968:138.

(47)   a. "É preciso   acabarmos   hoje"

        be_necessary.PRES.3sg finish.INF.1pl today

       'It is necessary for us to finish [it] today.' (Maurer, 1968:147)

     b. "Convém   ire-s   imediatamente"

        behoove.PRES.3sg finish.INF.2sg immediately

       'It behooves you to go immediately.' (Maurer, 1968:145)

In (46.a), because the subject (*eles*, 3pl.M) of the infinitive (*terem*, 'to have') is overt, the infinitive is inflected, even though it is coreferential to the subject of the main verb (SS). Similarly, in (46.b), the infinitive (*saírmos*, 'to go out') is inflected, because its subject (*nós*, 1pl.NOM), which is different from the one of the main verb (DS), is overt.

In (47.a) and (47.b), there is no overt subject in the context (but only the inflection) that indicates the subject of the infinitives, since the main verbs are impersonal. In these cases, they must be inflected.

Maurer's final rule involves six cases[95], in which the infinitive can be inflected or uninflected. Although both infinitives can be used here, the preference for the plain (PI) or for the inflected one (II) depends on each case, as shown in (48):

(48)   (i) The infinitive is directly linked to the main verb, that is, to auxiliary verbs (PI)[96], to verbs of movement (PI), to transitive verbs (such as cognition verbs (PI)), and in reduced adverbial clauses (II);

     (ii) The infinitive is linked to the main verb (such as causative verbs and verbs of perception) and the action expressed by it refers to the object of the main verb or to its subject (when it is in the passive voice); here, their preference is PI, when the overt subject is a personal pronoun; and II, when it is a lexical noun;[97]

     (iii) The infinitive is linked to the preposition *a* ('to') or *sem* ('without', in negative constructions) in constructions either (i) formed with auxiliary verbs, or (ii) linked to the object of perception verbs, or (iii) as a complement

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[95] In order to keep this account short, examples demonstrating this subgroup will be analyzed in chapter five.

[96] When infinitives are linked to auxiliary verbs, they are normally uninflected. However, Maurer explains that they can also be inflected, if they occur distant form the auxiliary verbs. (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:167). It is also true for infinitival constructions linked to auxiliary verbs through the preposition *a* 'to' or *sem* 'without' shown in rule (iii.i).

[97] According to Maurer (1968), when the subject of the infinitive is a pronoun, the verb should not be inflected (PI); whereas, when its subject is a lexical noun, it should be inflected. In fact, Maurer does not refer to the case of the subject pronoun, but it is in the accusative case, as an accusative clitic bound to the main verb, in his examples of this group. However, as shown in the introduction, it is very common to find examples of inflected infinitives linked to nominative (unbound) pronouns in the colloquial language (CBP-I) nowadays. Maurer also adds that, although the use of the inflected infinitive in causative and perception verbs is condemned by normative grammarians (e.g., A. Grivet, 1881), this kind of constructions can be already found in texts of the 16th and 17th centuries (*cf.* Maurer, 1968:174).

modifying the main clause, or (iv) as a narrative-descriptive infinitive; all four cases constituting expressions equivalent to the gerund[98], in which PI or II can be used willfully, except when it is linked to auxiliary verbs (PI);

(iv) When the infinitive functions as a complement to a noun or to an adjective, there are two distinctive cases: either its subject is known from the context (PI) or it is the noun itself or the noun modified by the adjective (II);

(v) When the infinitive occurs in (headless) relative clauses (II)[99];

(vi) When the infinitive is not linked to a given argument directly, but its subject is somehow indicated in the context (i.e., it is somehow accessible), e.g. in constructions, in which the infinitive functions as the subject of the main verb, as its object, as an apposition, etc.; either the plain infinitive or the inflected one can be used.

From all cases of this subgroup, just the last case is not handled in the analysis (chapter five). For this reason, just (vi) will be illustrated here in order not to exceed the scope of this study.

(49) a. "E o interesse$_i$ que daqui colhem os pássaros$_j$,
And the interest PRO$_{REL}$ from here pick.PRES.3pl the birds[plM.NOM]

é$_i$ comerem$_j$ as migalhas e rapaduras de cera"
be.3sg eat.INF.3pl the crumbs[ACC] and rapadura.pl[ACC] of wax

'And the interest that the birds have here is to eat the crumbs and *rapaduras* of wax.'[100]

b. "É tempo de ir-mos$_j$ prestar as nossas$_j$ homenagens às senhoras."
be.3sg time of go.INF.1pl give.INF the our courteous regards to the ladies

'It is time for us to pay homage to the ladies.' (Almeida, 1916)[101]

Although the infinitival constructions are not directly linked to their subject in (49.a) and (49.b), one can deduce from the contexts, who their subjects are (here, indicated by the subscription $_j$): in the first sentence, the argument (pássaros, 'birds') inside the relative clause is the subject of the inflected infinitive (comerem, 'to eat'); whereas in the second sentence the possessive pronoun (nossos, 'our') indicates the agent (1pl.NOM) of the infinitive (irmos, 'to go'). In such cases, the plain infinitive can also be used.

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[98] Actually, infinitival constructions linked to the preposition *a* that are equivalent to gerunds are very common in EP, but very scarce in BP (nowadays).
[99] Although the preference is for the plain infinitive in this case, Maurer also presents examples of the inflected infinitive in such constructions, and one of them is analyzed in chapter five.
[100] *cf.* Santos, n.d., p.72, cited by Maurer, 1968:199.
[101] *cf.* Almeida, J. Lopes de, 1916:158, cited by Maurer, 1968:199.

In addition, Maurer (1968) suggests some stylistic factors that influence the use of the inflected infinitive in the cases expressed by the third rule, restraining (R) or favoring (F) its use, such as in: (i) the presence of a verb with person marking near the infinitive (R/F); (ii) the presence of a reflexive pronoun linked to the infinitive (F); (iii) the impersonal form of the main verb (F); (iv) the distance between the infinitive and the verb with the person marking it depends on (F/R); (v) the necessity of clarity and emphasis (F); (vi) for the purposes of euphony, it is recommendable to avoid the repetition of the same inflection in a sequence of inflected infinitives, omitting some of them (R); (vii) when a clitic pronoun occurs after the infinitive (R); and, finally, (viii) when the infinitive precedes the main verb (F).

Although Maurer's account is seen in general as a seminal work on the inflected infinitive, Kliffer (1978:80) criticizes him for the lack of a specific formalism; and Scida (2004:56), for failing to provide a unified account for its use.[102]

As one could see above, Maurer (1968) recognizes, as Said Ali (1908), the importance of the overt subject in the inflected infinitival construction, considering that the fact that its presence triggers the inflection of the infinitive, as shown in some of his rules, although he does not refer to the case of the overt pronoun (nominative), as Said Ali does. Additionally, Maurer also presents stylistic factors which influence the use of the inflected infinitive, justifying the cases that are exceptions for the rules.

These five grammatical accounts were revised here just to illustrate how the inflected infinitive behaves, principally in terms of the standard language (SBP). In the next section, some linguistic accounts, which analyze the inflected infinitive within different frameworks, will be briefly presented.

3.2. Some Modern Generative Approaches

In this section, the use of inflected infinitive will be analyzed in four (linguistic) accounts with different theoretical frameworks: (i) Transformational Grammar (Perini, 1977 [1974]); (ii) Case Grammar (Kliffer, 1978); (iii) Government & Binding Theory (Raposo, 1987); and Relational Grammar (Scida, 2004). In these accounts, not only SBP but also CBP is considered in their syntactic analyses.

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[102] Actually, Scida (2004:56) also criticizes Maurer (1968) for being "confusing" and, sometimes, contradictory, although she describes Maurer's work as 'comprehensive' later in her dissertation (cf. Scida, 2004:89). However, sometimes she does not consider all aspects of his explanation in her criticism, and many issues in Maurer's account she does not agree with have to do with her assumption that the inflected infinitive is never obligatory.

3.2.1. Perini (1977[1974])

In his PhD dissertation *A Grammar of Portuguese Infinitives* (1974), which was translated into Portuguese (1977), Perini provides an analysis of agreement in the inflected infinitive using the framework of the classic Transformational Grammar.

By discussing some examples of causative verbs, perception verbs (which he divides into sensorial and intellectual ones), and other cognitive verbs (e.g., *achar* 'to think', *considerar* 'to consider', *garantir* 'to guarantee', etc.), Perini (1974) demonstrates how the inflected infinitive is generated through transformational rules, showing the whole process from their deep structure to their surface structure.

In (154) and (155) (*cf.* Perini, 1977:154 – the glosses are mine), shown here in (50), he suggests that (50.a), (50.b), (50.c), and (50.e), which are grammatical, are generated in the 'grammar', and only (50.d) is ruled out because of its violation of the Cliticization Rule, which is explained below.

(50)   a. "Vi   os cavalos correr."

  see.PERF.1sg the horses run.INF

  'I saw the horses running'

   b. "Vi   os cavalos correr-em."

  see.PERF.1sg the horses run.INF.3pl

   'I saw the horses running'

   c. "Vi-os   correr."

  see.PERF.1sg-3plM.ACC run.INF

   'I saw them running'

   d. * "Vi-os   corer-em."

   see.PERF.1sg-3plM.ACC   run.INF.3pl

   'I saw them running'

   e. "Vi   eles   corer-em."

  see.PERF.1sg 3sgM.NOM run.INF.3pl

   'I saw them running'

In (50) the nominative subject *os cavalos* 'the horses' (or, after the Pronominalization Rule, *eles* (3plM.NOM)) occurs both inside the main clause O_1 (O stands for *oração* 'clause', that is, S_1) and in the subordinate construction O_2 in the deep structure, as shown in Fig.3.
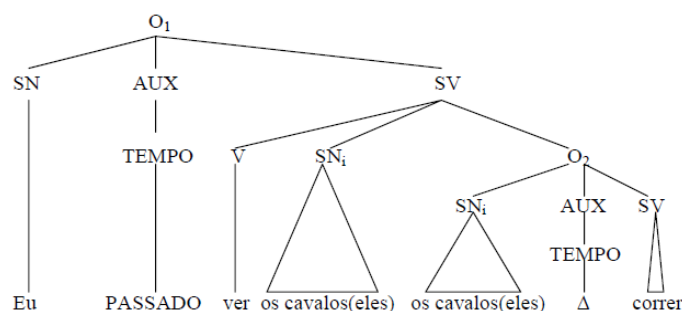
Fig.3 – The deep structure of the sentences in (50)

After the application of the SSI (i.e., *Supressão do Sujeito Idêntico*, 'deletion of the identical subject') rule, the chain V SN V, that is, [*ver os cavalos correr*] is left, because one of the identical subjects is deleted. For Perini, this chain is ambiguous, since it can mean that the deleted SN (i.e., *Sintagma Nominal* 'nominal syntagm', that is, NP) is either in O_1 or in O_2.

In the sentences (50.a) and (50.c) the verb is uninflected, because the Agreement rule does not apply to the infinitive, since the SN in O_2 was deleted by SSI and the infinitive is alone, as shown in Fig.4. However, in (50.b) and (50.e) the Agreement rule applies to the infinitive, which is inflected in agreement with the SN of O_2, because the SSI deleted the SN of O_1, as Fig.5 presents.
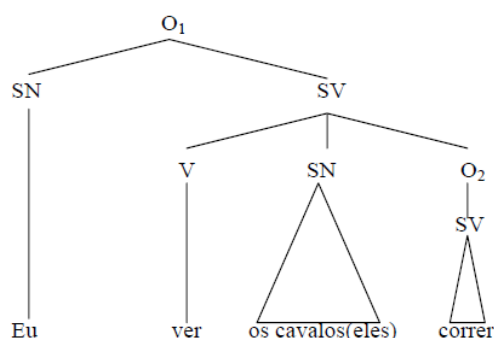
Fig.4 - The SN in O_2 was deleted in the ambiguous chain V SN V
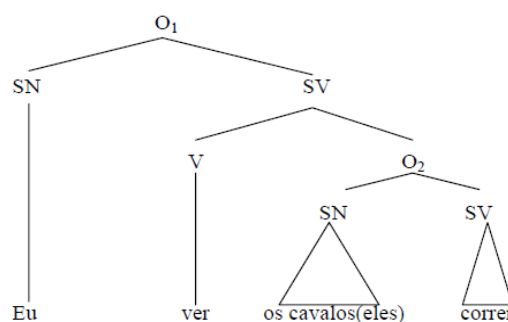
Fig.5 - The SN in O_1 was deleted in the ambiguous chain V SN V

For Perini (1974), the sentence (50.d) is ungrammatical because the Cliticization rule was violated, since it cannot be applied to a pronoun that is a subject; consequently, the Agreement rule was also violated, because it can only inflect the infinitive if it agrees with a non-cliticized pronoun (i.e., in the nominative case). However, the Cliticization rule was applied to the subject *eles* (3plM.NOM) in (50.d), transforming it into *os* (3plM.ACC), which moves to O_1 and inflects the infinitive.

In (51) one can see the generation of its surface form of the sentence (50.e) with the inflected infinitive from its deep structure to its surface structure.

(51)   a. [eu Passado ver eles [eles Δ correr]]   [Deep Structure]
        b. [eu Passado ver [eles Δ correr]]   [SSI]

c. ...	[Mov. of the relativized /interrogated SN]
d. ...	[Cliticization/Reflexivization]
e. [eu vi [eles correr-em]]	[Agreement]
f. ...	[Deletion of the Shadow Pronoun]
g. [vi eles correr-em]	[Deletion of the Subject Pronoun]
h. "Vi eles correrem"	[Surface Structure]

In (51) the sentence (50.c) is generated according to the structural description above. In the deep structure (51.a), one can find the underlying structure of the sentence with the predicates, arguments and tenses (the symbol Δ means unspecified tense), which will be transformed by the rules. In addition, the subject of the infinitive is represented twice, that is, as the object of the main verb and of the infinitive. In (51.b) the identical subject (here, of O_1) is deleted by the SSI rule. Because there is no specified tense in O_2, there is no movement of SN forwards, causing the insertion of the relative pronoun *que* 'which' (in relative clauses) nor the Q-movement (i.e., Wh-movement) of this subject in a question, shown in (51.c). In (51.d) the Cliticization rule, which would change the object of the verb in O_1 into a clitic, and the Reflexivization rule, which would change the subject of the infinitive in O_2 into a reflexive pronoun, do not apply as well. In (51.e) the Agreement rule is applied in O_1 and in O_2; since the tense is not specified here, only the infinitive is inflected just in terms of person and number. In (51.f) the deletion of the shadow-pronoun would occur, if the subject of the second verb would move to a high position, leaving a shadow-pronoun; this pronoun would be deleted by this rule after inflecting the finite verb. In (51.g) the deletion of main clause personal pronoun is the last step to reach its surface form, shown in (51.f).

According to Perini (1974), it was not always possible for him to find a definite solution to each aspect of the inflected infinitive presented in his characterization. Actually, although he concentrates on the cases of the inflected infinitive that have a counterpart with an accusative object (such as in constructions with causative verbs, verbs of perception, etc.), he needed to reformulate his rules sometimes, reconsider the grammaticality of his data, restrict his rules for specific sentences, and, finally, formulate the principles of the *Regra de Flutuação*, 'fluctuation rule', a rule which blocks some transformational rules in certain situations, in order to explain the grammatical sentences that were ruled out by his set of rules, and the ungrammatical ones that could not be ruled out.

For Perini (1974), it was not necessary to formulate an extra Agreement rule for the inflected infinitive, because there was no great difference between it and the finite verb, which differ only in terms of tense, since the infinitive has an unspecified tense. The presence

of a non-cliticized subject (i.e., nominative) is needed in the subordinate infinitival construction, so that the Agreement rule copies the features of person and number of the subject in the infinitive.

3.2.2 Kliffer (1978)

In his paper *The Infinitive in Portuguese: A Generative Approach*, Kliffer (1978) suggests an analysis of the infinitive in Portuguese using the framework of the Fillmorian Case Grammar.

In his analysis, Kliffer (1978) assumes that the infinitive, considered by him as a surface grammatical category only, corresponds to an underlying embedded clause dominated by an NP or Adverbial node.[103] For this reason, he does not make any distinction between the two infinitive types (plain and inflected ones) in the syntactic deep structure.[104] Instead, he considers three distinctive occurrence types of the infinitives (apart from the ones that function as full-fledged nouns) in relation to its subject: (i) infinitives whose subjects are not manifested and not recoverable, such as infinitives used in an abstract sense (that can take a definite article[105]); (ii) infinitives whose subjects are recoverable but not manifested because of obligatory Equi-NP deletion, such as infinitives linked to auxiliary and modal verbs; and (iii) infinitives whose subjects are optionally deletable, such as infinitives with or without overt subject, whose number and person features are copied onto the verb.

These three occurrence types will generate three distinctive surface forms (in order to keep this review short, just examples of the third type with the inflected infinitives will be shown with more details):

The first occurrence type differs from the second one, because not every transformation rule is applied, such as the Equi-NP deletion rule, since it does not have any NP under the Agent-node, which is indicated by a delta dummy in the Phrase-Marker, i.e. in the deep structure.

As in the second occurrence type, the infinitive has a recoverable subject, which will be obligatorily deleted by the Equi-NP deletion rule after lexical insertion and some

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[103]   According to Kliffer (1978), in the generative theory, "both infinitives and surface structure clauses are derived from underlying embedded sentences, as in Rosenbaum 1967" (*cf*. Kliffer, 1978:78).

[104] Actually, infinitives are treated just like the other verbs in the underlying structure. However, infinitives will be generated, when the loss of the subject will trigger an affix-hopping rule that will add a formative *-r* (the infinitive morpheme) to the verbal root (the formant).

[105] For Kliffer (1978), the infinitive with an article cannot be personal (i.e., bear a subject), and, alternatively, it could be defined as a full NP, if it were not the case that it does not accept adjectives, as other NPs do. (*cf*.Kliffer, 1978:81, *fn*. 1)

transcformations such as subjectivization, linearization, and modality-copying, if it is identical to the subject of the main verb. This infinitive type differs from the third type, because no subject-copying rule can be applied that would inflect the infinitive. In addition, Kliffer (1978) divides the main verbs into four groups concerning their ability to embed clauses that can be transformed into infinitival constructions, as follows:

(52)   (i). Group A consists of verbs that either constitute an infinitive after applying the Equi-NP deletion rule, when there is identity of subject (i.e., coreference between subjects); or a *que*-clause (i.e., a subordinate clause attached to the main clause through the conjunction *que* 'that'), when the subjects are not identical. This group includes verbs like: *querer* 'to want', *esperar* 'to wait', *procurar* 'to search', *decidir* 'to decide', *pretender* 'to intend', etc.

(ii) Group B involves verbs requiring the identical subjects, that is, both the main verb and the infinitive must have the same subject, because the infinitive verb is included in the same proposition of the main verb as a verbal complement (Vbl comp)[106]. The verbs of this group are: *dever* 'must', *poder* 'can/may', *tentar* 'to try', *costumar* 'to be used to', *ousar* 'to dare', *começar* a 'to start to', etc.

(iii)   Group C comprises verbs triggering Equi-NP deletion optionally, such as the following verbs: *pensar* 'to think', *acreditar* 'to believe', *julgar* 'to judge', *duvidar* 'to doubt', etc. When the Equi-NP deletion does not occur, a *que*-clause is embedded to the main verb.

(iv) Group D consists of verbs not permitting Equi-NP deletion, such as *ver* 'to see' and *concluir* 'to conclude'.

As for C and D, Kliffer does not consider that some of these verbs can also form inflected infinitive when their subjects are not identical, because the Equi-NP deletion rule cannot apply in this case, and its overt subject will trigger the subject-copying rule, inflecting the infinitive. Instead of this, Kliffer only suggests *que*-clauses as alternatives to infinitival constructions in his examples in C and D.

For the third occurrence type of optionally deletable subject, the infinitive will be inflected by the application of the Subject Copying rule. To illustrate this group, Kliffer considers the following adverbial clauses, and assumes that they have the same deep structure, shown in Fig.6.

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[106] Kliffer explains that "Vbl comp" is an ad-hoc label for the node dominating the formant of the infinitive in this group.

(53) a. "Depois de me   dar-em   a notícia, foram   buscar   você.

         after   1sg.DAT give.INF.3pl the news go.PERF.3pl pick_up.INF 2sg.ACC

         'After giving me the news, they went to pick you up.'

   b. "Depois de eles   me   dar-em   a notícia, [...]."

         after   3plM.NOM 1sg.DAT give.INF.3pl the news

  c. "Depois de me   dar   a notícia, [...]."

         after   1sg.DAT give.INF the news

  d. "Depois que me   darem[107]   a notícia, [...]."

         after that 1sg.DAT give.[PERF.3pl ?]   the news

As one can see above, the surface forms of the verbs vary: as an inflected infinitive with or without an overt subject in (53.b) and (53.a), respectively; as an uninflected infinitive in (53.c); and, as a finite verb linked to the preposition through the formative *que* (i.e., conjunction) in (53.d). These structures should have the same deep structure, as presented in Fig.6.
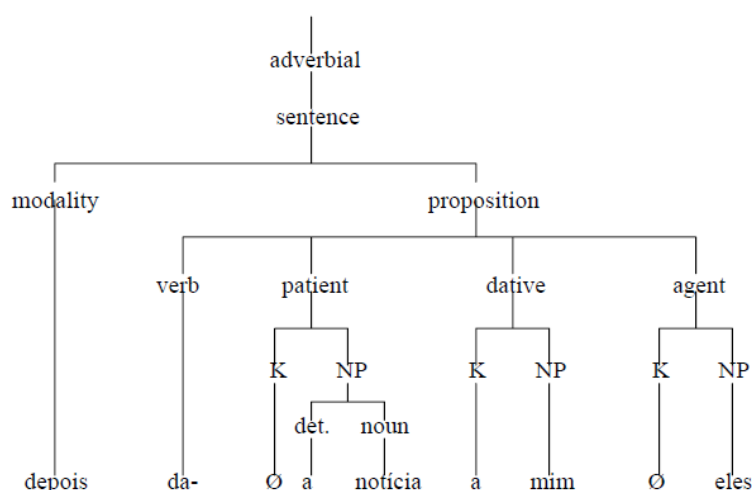
Fig.6 - the deep structure of the embedded adverbial clause of (53) (*cf.* Kliffer:1978:86, ex. (14)).

Due to some kind of dependence on the modality node in the main S, which would allow different tenses in adverbial clauses with finite verbs, Kliffer (1978) assumes that, after some basic transformations, the modality node of the main S (with the past tense) is copied onto the tense node of the embedded verb in the post-deep structure, producing the following string:

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[107] For Kliffer, this sentence is grammatical, although the verb has the form of an inflected infinitive. However, this form is incorrect in SBP, because such (adverbial) clauses built with the conjunction *que* ('that') would require either the indicative form of the verb (*deram*) for an actual past event, or the subjunctive one (*derem*) for an expected (but possibly uncertain) event in the future – in this case, the main verb must be in the future, too, because the event of the temporal adverbial clause must occur previously to the one of the main clause, due to the preposition *depois*, 'after'. Since the main clause is in the past, I suppose that the indicative form of the verb in the past (i.e., *deram*) is meant here (*cf.* Kliffer, 1978:86).

(54)   Depois # eles me ^ past ^ da- a notícia#

From this terminal string, all sentences (surface forms) in (53) will be generated. In the sentences with the infinitives, the embedded sentence boundary '#' is replaced by the formative *de* 'of', triggering the deletion of the tense and the addition of *-r* by the affix-hopping rule. Due to the optionality of the Subject Copying rule when the subjects are identical, there are three possibilities for the infinitives in (53): (i) either the number and person features of the subject are not copied onto the infinitive, triggering the Subject Deletion rule, as in (53.c); or, these features are copied onto the verb; in this case, the Subject Deletion rule is optional, permitting the subject to remain (ii), as in (53.b), or deleting it (iii), as in (53.a).

In the case of the finite verb in (53.d), the formative *que*, which requires a finite form of the verb, replaces the embedded sentence boundary '#', and triggers the usual clausal transformations.

Additionally, Kliffer (1978) discusses the cases of causative verbs, such as in (55), with two surface forms, which can be either an uninflected infinitive with a dative NP, or an inflected infinitive with an agent (in nominative), as exemplified in the terminal string of the deep structure of these sentences, shown in (56).

(55)   a. Eu   mandei   os meninos   voltar
           1sg.NOM order.PERF.1sg the boys[3plM.ACC] come_back.INF
           'I told the boys to come back.'

        b. Eu   mandei   os meninos   voltar-em
           1sg.NOM order.PERF.1sg the boys[3plM.NOM] come_back.INF.3pl
           'I told the boys to come back.'

(56)   ##past manda- # volta- os meninos # os meninos   eu ##

                         agent   dative   agent
                     patient
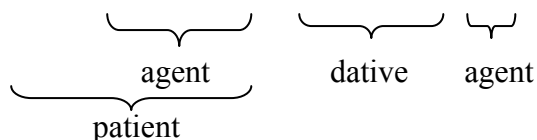
As one can see in (56); Kliffer's solution to the causative verbs is similar to the Perini's (1974) because of the double representation of the NP, in which one of them will be deleted by the Equi-NP deletion rule: if the dative NP is deleted, the Subject Copying rule will copy the number and person features of the agent of the infinitive onto it; however, if the agent of the infinitive is deleted, the Subject Copying rule does not apply and the infinitive remains uninflected. In this exemples, Kliffer considers the object of the causative verb as a dative NP, and the whole infinitival construction as a patient (accusative) of the main verb.

Kliffer also discusses the cases of infinitives functioning as modifiers in extra-position constructions, and of the indefinite clitic *se* (as the indefinite 'one' in English), but he concludes that there is no need to special transformations.

As Kliffer (1978) does not differentiate the two kinds of infinitives in Portuguese, considering them as the other verbs in the deep structure, he explains their different surface forms mainly as a matter of style, that is, through diverse transformations that will eventually generate them as inflected or uninflected infinitives. For him, the agent (i.e., nominative subject) directly linked to the infinitive was also necessary for the inflection of the verb.

3.2.3 Raposo (1987)

In his paper *Case Theory and Inf.-to-Comp: The Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese*, Raposo (1987) analyzes the distribution and properties of sentential complements with infinitives in EP, using the Government and Binding Theory.

In his analysis, Raposo (1987) considers that, in inflected infinitival constructions, the inflected or personal infinitive is able to assign the nominative case to its subject provided that the infinitive is specified for Case.

In order to justify this hypothesis, Raposo (1987) claims that the inflected infinitive in EP is dependent upon a morphological parameter, called by him the *infinitival Infl*, and a syntactic parameter, the *Null-Subject parameter*, in terms of the Universal Grammar.

As he suggests, the *Infl parameter*, which refers to cross-linguistic realizations of Infl in terms of choice of [± Tense], for inflected infinitive in EP results from the possibility of having an *infinitival Infl* specified for overt Agr features, and specifically, an Infl that is able to realize the option [[−Tense], Agr], that is, the Infl of the inflected infinitive must be tenseless and specified for Agr (given that there are languages, such as Chinese, in which a *finite Infl* does not have Agr features – the *finite Infl* is when the Infl parameter is specified for [+ Tense]).

Considering EP as a null-subject language, in which Agr can specify Case, given that verbal Agr is a set of specifications for number, person, gender (in some languages), and, Case[108] in such null-subject languages, Raposo (1987) assumes that the *infinitival Infl*, which consists solely of Agr specified as [−Tense], is an overt pronominal realization of the category N at the zero-bar level, in other words, a zero-level element of the category N, and he posits the following hypothesis:

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[108] Raposo points out that, according to Chomsky (1982), Case can constitute the content of the null-subject parameter, depending on whether Agr in Infl may or may not be specified for Case (*cf*. Raposo, 1987:93).

(57)   "In the absence of [+ Tense], Infl (or Agr in Infl) is capable of assigning
        nominative Case to a lexical subject only if it is itself specified for Case." (*cf.*
        Raposo, 1987:92)

In (57) Raposo presents the conditions for the inflected infinitive to assign nominative Case to its subject NP, namely, (i) Infl should be tenseless and (ii) Agr specified for Case. This is illustrated by Raposo (1987:93) in (24a), shown here in (58).

(58)   NP [–Tense] Agr VP

                    +C

In (58), one can see one of the four types of S-Structure with Agr in null-subject languages, considering how Infl is specified for Tense (i.e., [± Tense]) and for Case [±C]). This type of S-Structure with Agr involves the *infinitival Infl* (i.e., [[–Tense], Agr]), in which Agr is specified for Case (+C); and this is the syntactic parameter of the inflected infinitive.

For Raposo, the grammaticality of the following example proves that an inflected infinitival clause can take a null subject.

(59)   "Será difícil [$_{IP}$ pro aprovar*em* a proposta]"

        'It will be difficult pro to-aprove-Agr(3pl) the proposal.'

        'It will be difficult for them to approve the proposal'

In this example, the absence of an overt subject in the nominative Case (3pl.NOM) in the environment of an inflected infinitive is understood as a null subject NP, indicated by the little 'pro'. Its Case is transmitted from the Infl of the inflected infinitive (specified for Case), which in turn receives its Case from the Infl of the matrix clause.

For Raposo (1987), this kind of Case-assignment under Government in (58) involves both the internal and the external properties of the distribution of inflected infinitival clauses. Infl, which assigns Case to the subject NP, must be governed by a Case assigner, such as V, P, or Infl. In (59) one can see a matrix predicate taking an IP complement, which is actually the basic configuration for inflected infinitival clauses.

(60)   … V [$_{IP}$ NP [$_{I'}$ Infl VP]]

(61)   … V [$_{CP}$ SPEC [$_{C'}$ C IP]]

In (60), V governs both IP and Infl, in a head-to-head government. In (61), Raposo explains that V may assign Case to CP and this Case can percolate down to C, because C is the head of CP; similarly, V may assign Case to IP, and this Case may percolate down to Infl, because it is the head of IP.

Based on Kayne (1984), who considers government from a matrix predicate can cross one S-type boundary but not two such boundaries, Raposo points out that these Case assignments can be blocked if the Spec position of a subordinate CP is filled (e.g., with a *Wh-*phrase, a null operator).

In his analysis, Raposo goes through five cases of infinitives: (i) inflected infinitival clauses as subject complement clauses; (ii) as complements of matrix epistemic, declarative, and factive predicates; (iii) with matrix epistemic and declarative predicates, but in a way subject-verb inversion of the inflected infinitive with its subject NP; (iv) as complements of adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition; and (v) inflected infinitival clauses cannot occur as complements of embedded interrogative clauses, of embedded relative clauses, or of constructions in which there is a null operator in Comp.

Due to space considerations, I will just show his considerations about subject clauses, in order to illustrate his basic analysis of the inflected infinitives.

(62)   a. [$_{IP}$ Eles aprovar*em* a proposta] será difícil.

'They to-aprove-Agr the proposal will be difficult.'

'For them to approve the proposal will be difficult.'

b. [$_{CP}$[$_{IP}$[$_{N}^{max}$$_{=IP}$ eles [$_{I'}$[$_{I}$ Agr]$_1$ aprovar a proposta]] [$_{I'}$ Infl$_2$ será difícil]]]

(63) a. Será difícil [$_{IP}$ eles aprovar*em* a proposta].

'It will be difficult they to-aprove-Agr the proposal.'

'It will be difficult for them to approve the proposal'

b. pro$_i$ [$_{I'}$ Infl$_2$ será difícil [$_{N}^{max}$$_{=IP}$ eles [$_{I'}$[$_{I}$ Agr]$_1$ aprovar a proposta]]$_i$]

In (62.a), Raposo explains that the category IP satisfies the categorical requirements of subject position, because it may be an immediate daughter of the matrix S, given that there is no CP dominating IP. As shown in its S-structure in (62.b), the matrix Infl$_2$ governs and assigns Case to the subject clause. Because Infl$_1$, which is the head of this subject clause, is also governed by Infl$_2$, the Case can percolate from the subject clause down to Infl$_1$, which in turn will assign Case to the subject NP. Since the matrix Infl assigns nominative, this could account for the nominative Case assigned by the *infinitival Infl*. But if the infinitive is object complement or object of P, the Infl (or P) would not be able to assign nominative Case, raising the question of how his account extends to these structures.

In (63.a), the subject clause is extraposed position, but it enables Agr in Infl to receive Case without being directly governed. In this case, Raposo assumes that Case is transmitted via Move α to the subject clause. In (63.b) the null expletive pronoun, pro, and the extraposed subject clause form a CHAIN at S-structure, indicated by subscription $_i$. The Case that is

assigned to pro by $Infl_2$, is transmitted to the IP of the infinitival clause (via Move α in a CHAIN formation). From IP, it percolates down to the head of its head, the $Infl_1$.

In Raposo's (1987) analysis, the inflected infinitive can only occur in null-subject languages. In order for an inflected infinitive to assign Case to a lexical subject, its Infl must be tenseless (i.e., [– Tense]), and its Agr positively specified for Case [+C]; additionally, this Infl should be assigned Case itself from a Case assigner external to its Infl (such as V, P or other Infl).

Although Raposo analyzed the inflected infinitive in EP, discussing some examples that do not occur in BP (e.g., subject-verb inversion of the inflected infinitive subcategorized by matrix epistemic and declarative predicates), his basic analysis using GB can be also applied to BP.

3.2.4 Scida (2004)

In her PhD dissertation *The Inflected Infinitive in Romance* Languages, Scida (2004) provides a historical and syntactic account on the inflected infinitive of some Romance Languages, especially of Portuguese and Galician, using the framework of Relational Grammar.

In the syntactic part of her dissertation, Scida (2004) suggests a general condition for the use of the inflected infinitive in the Romance languages (i.e., Portuguese, Galician, Sardinian and Old Napolitan), presented in (64).

(64)   "The inflected infinitive must be the final predicate of its clause."

Scida (2004) adds that the inflected infinitive can be optionally used in the same contexts of the plain infinitive, provided that it is a final predicate. Hence, in order to determine whether an infinitive is a final predicate of a biclausal construction, and consequently to find out if this verb can be inflected, Scida (2004) makes use of clause-counting tests, such as clitic-position[109], negation[110], and predicate-clefting.[111]

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[109] Since object pronouns can only cliticize to final predicates in Portuguese in biclausal constructions, this test should determine whether the infinitive is the inner predicate of a monoclausal construction or the final predicate of a biclausal construction: if the pronoun of the infinitive cliticizes to the outer verb, it means that the construction is monoclausal; but, if it cannot cliticize to the other verb, but only to the infinitive, it means that the infinitive is final predicate of its own clause (i.e., in a biclausal construction). In the first case, only plain infinitives can occur, whereas in the second situation both types of infinitive are allowed.

[110] As in the clitic-position test, the position of the negation determines clause membership of the infinitive, because negation of an inner predicate is disallowed (it means that it is the inner predicate of a monoclausal construction) and only final predicates can be negated (i.e., it is the final predicate of a biclausal construction) (*cf.* Scida:2004:19-20).

[111] Since a sentence with a clefted infinitive is only grammatical in biclausal constructions, the test determines clause membership of the infinitive.

In conformity with the general condition in (64), Scida (2004) presents two types of biclausal constructions in which the inflected infinitive can occur: the 2-control construction, and the basic structure.

In the 2-control constructions, such as the ones with causative and perception matrix verbs, Scida (2004) explains that an argument is shared by the independent clauses, in which both verbs are final predicates, allowing the infinitive to be inflected, as shown in the sentences (65.a-b).

(65)   a. "Nancy viu   os seus amigos   gastarem   muito dinheiro."

        Nancy see.PERF.3sg the her friends[3plM] spend.INF.3pl much money

        'Nancy saw her friends spending much money.'

    b. "Nancy viu-os   gastarem   muito dinheiro."

        Nancy see.PERF.3sg-3plM.ACC spend.INF.3pl much money

        'Nancy saw them spending much money.'

According to Scida (2004), each verb (*ver* 'to see', or *gastar* 'to spend') in the sentences above are final predicates, justifying inflection of the infinitives: in (65.a) and in (65.b) the inflected infinitive occurs because it is the final predicate of its own clause.
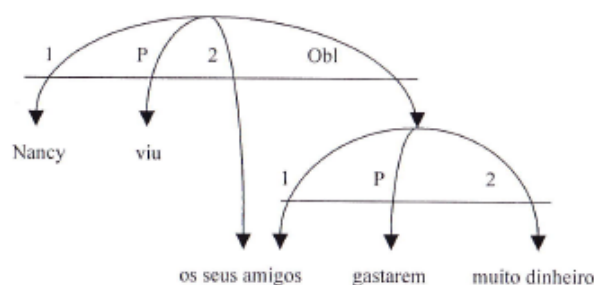
Fig.7 - The relational network of (65.a), (*cf*. Scida, 2004: 27, ex. (43))

Curiously, Scida (2004) does not identify the case of the overt lexical subject in (65.a), but only points out that it is a semantic argument of both verbs (2-relation argument of the superordinate verb, and a 1-relation argument of the infinitive in the embedded clause), as shown in Fig.7, and she adds that "the subject of the embedded clause generally appears before the infinitive and is in the accusative case" (*cf*. Scida, 2004:27). Instead of defining its case, she presents sentences with inflected infinitives linked to accusative clitic pronouns, such as in (65.b), which is considered ungrammatical by all scholars reviewed here[112].

The only indication of a linking between a nominative subject and the inflected infinitive in such biclausal constructions that she presents is in the basic structure. There, the

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[112] Not only in BP, but also in EP, given that in Raposo's (1987) hypothesis for the use of the inflected infinitive in EP the Case assigner (V, P or Infl) should assign nominative to the subject of the inflected infinitive, as shown above in sec. 3.2.3.

nominative subject occurs because it is only a member of the embedded infinitival clause, and it is not assigned a semantic role by the superordinate verb, as shown in (66), and Fig. 8.

(66) "Nancy pensa   terem   gasto   os seus amigos   muito dinheiro."

Nancy think.PRES.3sg have.INF.3pl spend.PART the her friends[3plM.NOM] much money

'Nancy thinks that her friends have spent much money.'[113]
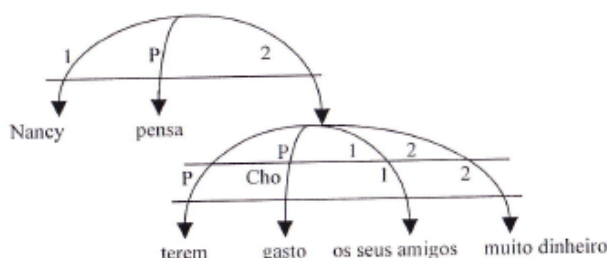
Fig.8 - The relational network of (66), (*cf.* Scida, 2004: 28, ex. (44))

In (66), Scida (2004) explains that, because both verbs are final predicates, the infinitive can be inflected, and the subject, which is only a member of the embedded clause, is in the nominative case.

With the general condition in (64), Scida (2004) accounts for the use of the inflected infinitive occurring not only in biclausal constructions, as shown above, but also in other constructions, such as in exclamative and interrogative clauses, in which the infinitive occurs as a matrix verb, as in (67).

(67)   a. "Não comer-es,   tu   que   estalavas   de fome [...]?"

NEG eat.INF.2sg 2sg.NOM CLM crack.PERF.2sg of hunger

'You don't eat, you who were dying of hunger?

(*cf.* Lobato, 1920:75, cited by Scida,2004:32)

b. "Também, ir-em a Queluz com um dia destes!"

also go.INF.2pl to Queluz with a dia of these!

'Also, they go to Queluz on one of these days!'

(*cf.* Queirós, 1888:328, cited by Scida, 2004:32)

In these examples, Scida (2004) justifies the use of the inflected infinitive, considering these infinitives final predicates of their own clause, because they are not subordinate to anything, and their clauses are independent. However, if one would use the same argument she gave for infinitives in exclamative and interrogative clauses, i.e., for being the final predicate of the independent clauses, this would not account for the fact that an inflected

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[113] This construction with the cognitive verb *pensar* 'to think' linked to an inflected infinitive in a subject-verb inversion is not common in BP.

infinitive cannot be the matrix verb of a declarative sentence, which would be independent as well.

In addition to the general condition in (64), Scida (2004) indicates three considerations that prompt the use of the infinitive with person marking: (i) the presence of an overt subject of the inflected infinitive; (ii) the desire to avoid ambiguity; and (iii) the emphasis of the subject of the inflected infinitive as a matter of style.

Based on (64) and on these considerations above, Scida (2004) suggests eight different environments for the use of the inflected infinitive: (i) when it occurs with an overt nominative subject; (ii) in auxiliation and passivisation; (iii) when a reflexive pronoun can only occurs with the infinitive but not linked to a superordinate verb (showing that the infinitival clause is independent); (iv) in exclamative and interrogative clauses; (v) in a sequence of conjoined infinitives linked, for instance, to a modal verb; (vi) in *verba dicendi* ('verbs of speaking'); (vii) when the infinitival clause is the subject of a clause; and (viii) after a preposition.

Scida (2004) also presents two contexts, in which the infinitive cannot be inflected: (i) in context in which the infinitive is the inner predicate of a monoclausal construction; and (ii) when the infinitive is used in a general sense (abstract meaning), since the verb cannot be associated to any specific subject.

Although Scida (2004) did not revise any linguistic account using a syntactic framework cited in her references[114], she criticizes both grammatical and linguistic accounts for "failing to capture the true nature" of the inflected infinitive. For her, this true nature comprises "one concise condition restricting its use which predicts all possible occurrences", namely, that the inflected infinitive must be the final predicate of its clause. What she means by "all possible occurrences" are in fact the instantiations of the inflected infinitive explained by her account. The ones she could not explain from the grammatical accounts reviewed by her are sometimes ignored, considered ungrammatical, or facultative, since she assumes that the use of the inflected infinitive is never mandatory – facilitating her explanation of the examples that cannot be ruled in or out in her analysis.

3.3 Summary and Conclusion

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[114] Actually, she just points out that some linguists using the GB Theory do not propose the use of the plain infinitive in the context of modal and causative verbs as a general condition, since they also consider the occurrence of the inflected infinitive in a CP in such cases (*cf.* Scida, 2004:17-18).

In this chapter, a brief review of some grammatical and linguistic accounts on the inflected infinitive was presented, demonstrating a progressive growth in the understanding of this language phenomenon.

In the first account, Barbosa (1822) prescribed grammatical rules to determine the "correct" use of both plain and inflected infinitives, considering essentially the fact that an infinitive could only be personal (inflected), if it had a different subject (DS) as the one of the main verb; or if it were used in terms of a specific subject (not in an abstract sense).

For Diez (1836-1844), the inflected infinitive was not restricted to the cases of DS constructions, but it would include all the cases in which it could be replaced by a finite verb, for being somewhat independent from the main verb because of its own subject, which could be either same subject (SS) or DS.

Following Diez (1836-1844), Said Ali (1908) determines his rules for the use of the inflected infinitive, considering (i) the compulsory agreement of the infinitive with an overt nominative subject, (ii) the necessity to avoid ambiguity, and (iii) the wish to emphasize the subject of the infinitive. However, in Said Ali (1932), he proposes scattered rules for the use of the inflected infinitive, ascribing them to specific situations.

The following grammarian presented in this review that also proposes scattered rules for the use of this infinitive is Almeida (1965). His rigid rules are divided in terms of (i) compound verb phrases, (ii) the Latin infinitival constructions, (iii) infinitival constructions introduced by a preposition, (iv) the distance of the infinitive to the main verb, and (v) interrogative and exclamative clauses. Although Almeida accepts the use of the inflected infinitive in (ii) by renowned artists (due to their poetic license), he condemns its colloquial use, considering it ungrammatical.

The last grammatical account of this review was Maurer (1968), in which an extensive and didactic study on the origin and on the syntactic use of the inflected infinitive is proposed. For Maurer (1968), the uses of the two kinds of infinitives in Portuguese can be summarized in three basic rules: (i) the plain infinitive must be used when there is no recoverable subject (no specific subject); (ii) the inflected infinitive must be used when there is a subject, regardless if it is overt or not, SS or DS; and (iii) either the plain or the inflected infinitive can be used in the cases, which are impersonal in other Romance languages. For Maurer (1968), these rules can also be influenced by external factors, prompting or restraining the use of the inflected infinitive.

In these grammatical accounts one could identify two trends: the necessity of prescriptive rules (which sometimes does not correspond to the actual use of the inflected

infinitive) and the search for underlying principles for its uses. Basically, the plain infinitive is considered to be used in abstract senses, that is, when its subject can not be recovered; whereas the inflected infinitive should be used in the cases, in which the subject of the infinitive should be specified (personal sense), principally when it is linked to an overt nominative subject.

As for the remaining accounts, the rules and principles defined in the grammatical accounts for the standard language, as well as some uses of the colloquial language were described using a theoretical framework.

In the first account (using Transformational Grammar), Perini (1974) described the inflected infinitive as a surface form of verb that undergoes some transformations, starting in its deep structure until reaching its surface structure. Since these rules could not account for each case of the inflected infinitive, Perini concludes that a fluctuation rule would block some of basic transformational rules in the generation of the inflected infinitive in given situations, in order to produce grammatical results.

In the second linguistic account (in Case Grammar) reviewed here, Kliffer (1978) also considers the inflected infinitive as a surface grammatical category only, corresponding to an embedded clause dominated by a NP or Adverbial node. Whether the verb will be transformed into an inflected or a plain infinitive (or a finite form), it depends on diverse transformations. For Kliffer (1978), the agent (i.e., the nominative subject) directly linked to the infinitive was also required for the inflection of the verb.

In the third account, Raposo (1987) applies the GB Theory to explain the uses of the inflected infinitive in EP. As Case plays an important role in GB, inflected infinitival construction are explained through Case-assignment and Government: the Infl (of Agr of Infl), which should be specified [-Tense], assigns nominative Case to its subject, only if this inflected infinitive is itself specified for Case [+C] by an external Case assigner (V, P or other Infl), which governs the inflected infinitive and can assign Case. Despite Raposo's (1987) characterization of the inflected infinitive can account for many examples, it cannot account for the assignment of the nominative Case in certain situations, e.g., when the infinitival clause is an object complement or an object of a P.

The last account revised here was Scida (2004), who claims to account for all possible cases of inflected infinitive with a general condition (using Relational Grammar), namely, that the inflected infinitive should be the final predicate of its clause. For Scida (2004), a nominative subject linked to an infinitive is not required for its inflection, considering the fact that she introduces examples of accusative subjects associated with inflected infinitives.

In these accounts using theoretical frameworks (except for (Scida, 2004)), one can see that the nominative subject plays an important role in inflected infinitival constructions. It was either responsible for the inflection of the infinitive in Perini (1974) and in Kliffer (1978), or its subject was assigned nominative Case by the inflected infinitive, which in turn was specified for case by an external case assigner, in Raposo (1987).

4. An Overview of Role and Reference Grammar

In this chapter, a brief overview of the RRG theoretical framework for the syntactic and the semantic representations will be presented, which will serve as a reference for the analysis of the inflected infinitive suggested in chapter five, whose main concerns are to represent its syntactic structure and to give the linking from semantics to syntax of some examples.

Due to space considerations, I will only present what is essential in RRG for the subsequent analysis. This overview will be divided in three main parts: (i) the syntactic representation of simple sentences, in which the LSC and the Operators will be explained; (ii) the semantic representation of simple sentences, introducing essential concepts for the semantics-to-syntax Linking (such as Macroroles, Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA), etc.); and (iii) the structure of complex sentences, in which the syntactic and semantic representations of the structure of simple sentences are extended in order to account for complex sentences, involving the concepts of junctures and nexus relations.

4.1. Syntactic Representation of Simple Sentences

The RRG syntactic representation of a sentence differs from the representation of the theoretical frameworks presented in the previous chapter, because it neither imposes any phonological null element (e.g., the null expletive pronoun *pro*) nor postulates multiple levels of structure (e.g., D-structure, P-initial and P-final strata, etc.) in its analysis of the clause. Instead of this, RRG represents a sentence in a very concrete way, that is, only what corresponds to its actually occurring forms is considered in the analysis.[115]

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[115] It is important to underline that the zero-morpheme attached to some forms of the inflected infinitive used is not a null-phonological element in the syntax, but just the conjugation of the infinitive for these forms, and it is used here to make a distinction between the plain infinitive (without inflection) and the personal uninflected infinitive, when this occurs with an overt subject in nominative, which constitute an evidence for this zero-morpheme.

The syntactic representation of simple sentences involves two basic components: (i) the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC) and (ii) the Operators, which are briefly introduced in the following sections.

4.1.1 The Layered Structure of the Clause

The clause is represented in a semantically-based model known as the Layered Clause Structure, whose essential components are (i) the NUCLEUS (NUC), (ii) the CORE, and (iii) a PERIPHERY, for each level of the clause (NUC, CORE and CLAUSE). In Fig.9 one can see an example of a LSC with these essential components, in which the constituents of an English clause are organized.
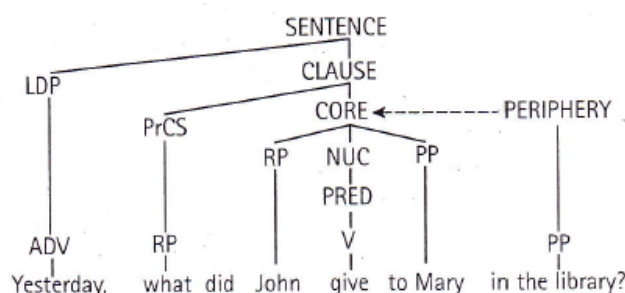
Fig.9 – The Layered Structure of the Clause in English, based on Van Valin, 2010a:710, Fig.28.4

In Fig.9, the constituents of the clause are distributed in terms of the three essential components of the clause (NUC,CORE, PERIPHERY) in a projection known as the Constituent Projection of the Clause, as follows: (i) the predicate (PRED), which can be a verb (V), an adjective (Adj), a reference phrase (RP)[116], or an adpositional phrase, is located in the NUCLEUS; (ii) the nucleus and the arguments of the verb (RP and PP) are represented in the CORE; and (iii) the adjunct modifier is represented in the PERIPHERY, because it is not necessary for the meaning of the clause. According to Van Valin (2010a:707), these aspects are universal, because they are related to the essential functions of the language: reference and predication.

The other constituents, which did not occur directly at the CORE level, are language-specific, and occur in two different positions: (i) inside of the CLAUSE in the Pre-core Slot (PrCS), or, in some languages (e.g. Japanese), after the CORE but still inside the CLAUSE, in the Post-core Slot (PoCS); (ii) in a marked position outside the CLAUSE, on the left, in the Left Detached Position (LDP)a PERIPHERY, or on the right, in the Right Detached Position (RDP). These extra positions can be seen represented in the Fig.11.b below.

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[116] Unlike Nominal Phrases (NPs), the Reference Phrases (RPs) are non-endocentric constructs, because their nuclei (NUCLEUS$_R$) are not restricted to nominals nor to lexical heads (*cf*. Van Valin, 2010a:710).

4.1.2 Operators

The second component of the Theory of the Clause Structure is the Theory of Operators, which will account for the tense-carrying word (i.e., "did") in the English sentence above, not included in the constituent projection in Fig.9. Because Operators are not constituents of the Clause but closed-class categories (such as aspect, negation, tense, illocutionary force, etc.), they are represented in a separated projection, called Operator Projection, as shown in Fig.10.
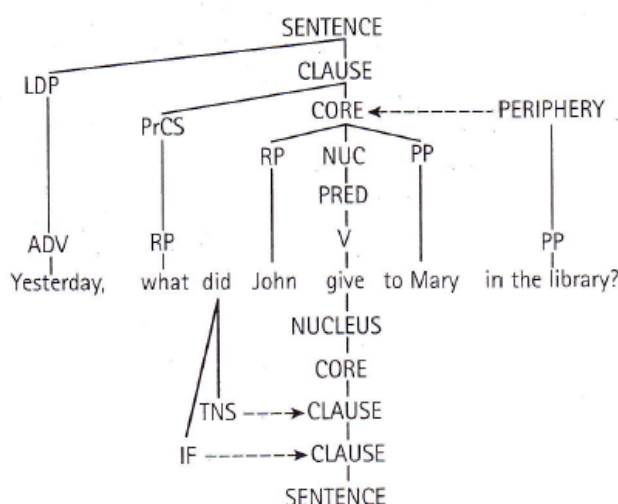
Fig.10 – The LSC with both constituent and operator projections, *cf.* Van Valin, 2010a:710, Fig.28.4

In Fig.10, one can see both the Constituent projection (above the sentence) and the Operator projection of the sentence (below it). The tensed auxiliary 'did' is specified not only for tense (TNS), but also for illocutionary force (IF), because its position in the sentence indicates interrogative IF in English.

In the Fig.11.a below, one can see the operator projection in the layered structure of the clause with a list of possible operators modifying the three essential levels of the clause. In Fig.11.b, the constituent projection with all possible positions (except for the peripheries for each level of the clause) and the operator projection are depicted in a single projection.

SENTENCE

SENTENCE   (LDP)   CLAUSE   (RDP)

CLAUSE   (PrCS) CORE   (PoCS)

CORE

NUC   (XP) (XP) XP (XP) NUC (XP) (XP)

PRED

V   PRED

NUC ← Aspect
       Negation
       Directionals

CORE ← Directionals
        Event quant
        Modality
        Negation

CLAUSE ← Status
         Tense
         Evidentials
SENTENCE   Illocutionary
         Force

NUC ← Aspect
NUC ← Negation
NUC/CORE ← Directionals
CORE ← Event quantification
CORE ← Modality
CORE ← Negation (Internal)
CLAUSE ← Status
CLAUSE ← Tense
CLAUSE ← Evidentials
CLAUSE ← Illocutionary Force
SENTENCE

(a)   (b)

Fig.11 – The LSC with both constituent and operator projections, *cf*. Van Valin, 2005: 12, Fig.1.4

In RRG, other categories like RPs and PPs, (in some cases, also AdjPs) are also represented in layered structures, according to their structures, i.e, the RPs have both constituent and operator projections, but PPs have only constituent projections, which can be either predicative or non-predicative, as shown in Fig.12.

PP

PP   CORE$_P$

P   RP   NUC$_P$ RP

CORE$_R$ PRED   CORE$_R$

NUC$_R$ P   NUC$_R$

N   N

to   the girl   in   the library
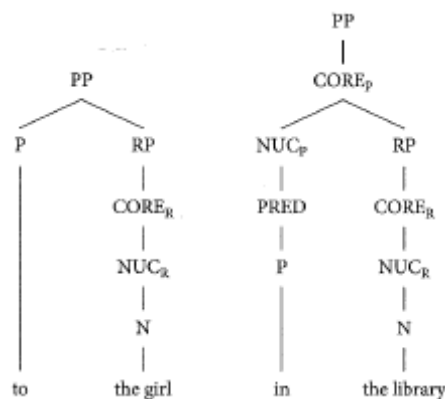
Fig.12 - Non-predicative and predicative PPs in English, *cf.* Van Valin, 2008a:171

In Fig.12, one can see a predicative PP and a non-predicative PP, which are represented in different ways: The predicative PP consists of a layered structure (CORE$_P$/NUC$_P$/P), whereas the structure of the non-predicative PP comprises just a P.

In the same figure above, one can also see some representations of RPs, whose structures consist of CORE$_R$s, NUC$_R$s, and Ns. As said above, RPs are non-endocentric and can have other elements inside their NUC$_R$'s which are not lexical heads. Other examples of RPs are shown in Fig.13, including their Operator projections.

Fig.13 – Examples of RPs in English, *cf.* Van Valin, 2010a:711

In Fig.13, one can also see a PERIPHERY$_R$ in one of the constituent projections, and some operators (i.e., Quantification (QNT), Number (NUM) and Definiteness (DEF)), modifying N. In Fig.14, one can see the layered structure of a complex NP, which was reanalyzed in RRG in terms of a reference phrase, RP (Hence, "NPs" should be understood as RP, and the sub-inscription 'N' as 'R', here).

Fig.14 – The Layered Structure of NP (RP), *cf.* Van Valin, 2005:25.

In Fig.14, one can also see a NP-initial position, NPIP, (i.e. RP-initial position, RPIP), which is the position equivalent to LDP in the clause (in some languages, RPFP, i.e. RP-final position, because it would occur after the RP) in the constituent projection.

In the operator projection of the Fig.14, all operators modifying N (i.e., R) are shown. They are: Nominal aspect (NASP), modifying the NUC$_N$ (i.e., NUC$_R$); Number (NUM), Quantification (QNT), Negation (NEG), modifying CORE$_N$ (i.e., CORE$_R$); and, finally, Definiteness (DEF) and Deixis (DEIC), modifying NP (i.e., RP).

4.2. Semantic Representation of Simple Sentences

The RRG semantic representation is based on lexical decomposition of the meaning of the predicator along with its arguments. Taking the verb 'kill', which is a causative

accomplishment verb, the meaning of the verb is decomposed into two parts: (i) the action of X and its consequence (Y is dead). The decomposition, which is named the logical structure (LS), is represented in RRG terms as follows:

(68)   [**do´**(x, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **dead´**(y)]].

In (68) the logical structure of the verb 'kill' is shown. According to Van Valin, 2005:57, causative verbs are normally decomposed into (i) the logical structure of an activity, expressed by [**do´**(x, Ø)], which includes the agent (x); and (ii) the logical structure of one of the six *Aktionsart* verb types[117], in this case, of the accomplishment verb, which includes BECOME, the predicate itself, and the patient (x), i.e. [BECOME **dead´**(y)]; and, finally, the two logical structures are linked by the connective CAUSE, indicating the first LS caused the second LS. In this representation, the whole LS is presented in brackets, the predicates are highlighted (in bold), and their arguments are shown inside the parenthesis.

4.2.1 Actor and Undergoer

In RRG, thematic roles are not considered in this semantic representation, as they were traditionally applied. Instead of this, they are defined in terms of the argument positions in the decomposed logical structure representations.
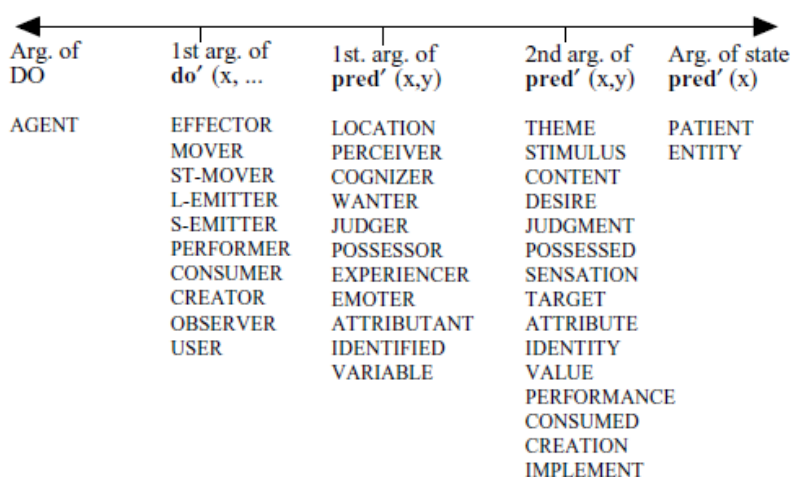

Arg. of DO	1st arg. of **do´** (x, ...	1st. arg. of **pred´** (x,y)	2nd arg. of **pred´** (x,y)	Arg. of state **pred´** (x)
AGENT	EFFECTOR	LOCATION	THEME	PATIENT
	MOVER	PERCEIVER	STIMULUS	ENTITY
	ST-MOVER	COGNIZER	CONTENT	
	L-EMITTER	WANTER	DESIRE	
	S-EMITTER	JUDGER	JUDGMENT	
	PERFORMER	POSSESSOR	POSSESSED	
	CONSUMER	EXPERIENCER	SENSATION	
	CREATOR	EMOTER	TARGET	
	OBSERVER	ATTRIBUTANT	ATTRIBUTE	
	USER	IDENTIFIED	IDENTITY	
		VARIABLE	VALUE	
			PERFORMANCE	
			CONSUMED	
			CREATION	
			IMPLEMENT	

Fig.15 – Thematic Relations Continuum in terms of LS Argument Position, *cf.* Van Valin, 2005:58.

Fig.15 shows various thematic relations that are distributed in terms of five possible argument positions in logical structure. These argument positions are organized in a continuum from a primitive activity verb [**DO** [**do´**(x,…], which requires a wilful, controlling, instigating participant (AGENT) to a primitive state verb [**pred´** (x)], which requires a

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[117] Due to space considerations, I will not show the other types of verbs here. For a detailed discussion on verb classification in RRG, *cf.* Van Valin:2005, 31-42.

strongly affected participant (PATIENT), according to their relation to one of these endpoints. Accordingly, the other thematic relations are also organized with respect to their logical structure argument position and their relation to one of these endpoints of the continuum (i.e., from AGENT to PATIENT).

Van Valin (2005:60) explains that the relevant semantic properties of the verbs are expressed by the decompositional logical structure representations, not by all these thematic relations in Fig.15, which are just mnemonics for argument positions in logical structure.

Instead of considering the various thematic roles in the actual semantic analysis, RRG considers two generalized semantic roles (called 'macroroles' (MR), because they include a number of thematic roles): (i) the ACTOR, which is the most agent-like argument, and the UNDERGOER, which is the most patient-like one. The relation between the macroroles and the LS argument positions is shown in the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy in Fig.16.
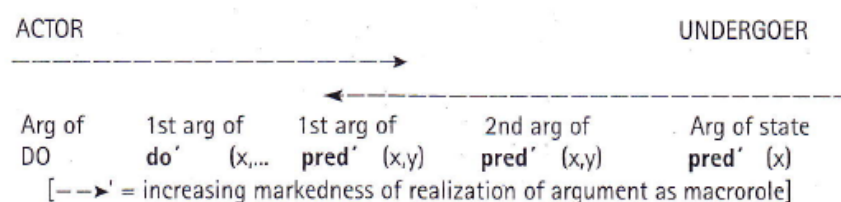

Fig.16 – The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, *cf.* Van Valin, 2010:717.

According to the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH), the prototype actor is an agent and the prototype undergoer is a patient. However, other thematic roles of the continuum can function as actors or undergoers. For this reason, the AUH shows that the leftmost argument, for instance, in the logical structure of a transitive verb, will be the actor, whereas the rightmost argument will be the undergoer.

Considering the LS of the verb 'kill', shown in (68) and repeated here as (69), the argument 'x' (i.e., the effector) is classified as an 'actor', and the argument 'y' (the patient) as the 'undergoer', in terms of macroroles.

(69)   [**do**´(x, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **dead**´(y)]].

4.2.2 Privileged Syntactic Argument

Because subjects and direct objects[118] are claimed not to be universal in RRG, the theory uses the notion of a 'privileged syntactic argument' (PSA), which is a construction-specific relation.

---

[118] As for the direct and indirect objects, their traditional notions are not used in RRG. Instead of this, RRG uses direct and oblique core objects.

The PSA selection depends on the type of languages (e.g., accusative languages, ergative language) and on the type of syntactic construction. For this, RRG proposes a PSA Selection Hierarchy (in (70)), showing which argument is supposed to be selected as PSA in a ranking; and PSA Selections Principles (in (71)), presenting which argument is default in a given language type.

(70) Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Hierarchy:

Arg of **DO** > 1st arg of **do´** > 1st arg of **pred´** > 2nd arg of pred´ (x,y) > pred´ (x)

(71) Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Principles:

    a. Accusative construction: Highest ranking direct core argument in terms of default of PSA-selection hierarchy.

    b. Ergative construction: Lowest ranking direct core argument in terms of default of the PSA-selection hierarchy.

    c. Restrictions on PSA in terms of macrorole status:

        1. Languages in which only macrorole direct core arguments can be PSA: German, Italian, Dyirbal, Jakaltek, Sama, etc.

        2. Languages in which non-macrorole direct core arguments can be PSA: Icelandic, Georgian, Japanese, Korean, Kinyarwanda, etc.

What is relevant for the present study is the PSA-Selection Hierarchy in (70), and PSA-Selection Principle in (71.a)[119]: As accusative languages such as BP, the default argument for the PSA selection is the Actor, while the object core argument is the Undergoer.

4.2.3. Case Assignment Rules

Another important component in the semantic representation of simple sentences is how RRG deals with case marking and agreement, which is also related to the notions of PSA and macroroles.

Considering only what concerns accusative languages, Van Valin (2005:108) suggests the agreement rules for the finite verb, as in (72), and the rules for regular case marking that apply to direct core arguments only, as in (73).

(72)   "Finite verb agreement in Russian, German and Icelandic:

    The controller of finite verb agreement is the highest ranking macrorole argument (in terms of (4.14)) [*sc.*, (70), here]."

---

[119] For the whole discussion on the PSA-Selection Hierarchy and the PSA-Selection Principles, *cf.* Van Valin,2005:94-107.

(73) "Case assignment rules for accusative constructions:

   a. Assign nominative case to the highest ranking macrorole

   argument (in terms of (4.14)) [*sc*., (70), here].

   b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument."

According to (72), the controller, with which the finite verb agrees, is the highest ranking macrorole (HR MR) in terms of the PSA-Selection Hierarchy (shown here in (70)). It means that the verb will agree with the argument of (**DO**); if the verb is no **DO** predicate, but a **do´** predicate, than the verb agrees with its first argument, and so on.

Hence, considering (73), one can say that in BP nominative case is assigned to HR MR, and accusative case to the second MR.[120]

4.2.4 The semantics-to-syntax Linking

The RRG linking algorithm, which is a set of rules relating syntactic and semantic representations to each other, is bidirectional, because it both links the semantic to the syntactic representation, and the syntactic to the semantic representation. As I will only do the linking from semantics to syntax of some examples in the analysis (chapter five), I will just present this kind of linking in this section.

The procedures to the semantics-to-syntax linking is presented by Van Valin (2005:136), repeated here in (74).

(74) Linking algorithm: semantics → syntax:

   1. Construct the semantic representation of the sentence, based on the logical

   structure of the predicator.

   2. Determine the actor and undergoer assignments, following the actor-

   undergoer hierarchy in Figure 4.4. [*sc*., Fig.16, here]

   3. Determine the morphosyntactic coding of the arguments

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[120] As it seems, RRG case assignment rules provides another reason for the "independence" of the overt subject in nominative from the main verb. According to these rules, the argument with the highest ranking macrorole, i.e., the actor of action verbs in accusative languages will receive the nominative case, whereas the argument with the other macrorole (i.e., the undergoer of these verbs) will receive the accusative case. If these rules can applied to infinitival constructions, then it means that the overt subject in nominative differs from the overt subject of the plain infinitive, in that the syntactic structure of the inflected infinitive assigns, at least, one macrorole, namely the highest ranking one (the argument in nominative case), thus showing its independence from the main verb; whereas the structure of the plain infinitive can only assign, if any, the second ranking macrorole as its subject, since it depends on the structure of the main clause.

a. Select the privileged syntactic argument, based on the privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy and principles in {4. l4}-{4. 15}. [*sc.*, (70-71), here]

b. Assign the arguments the appropriate case markers and/or adpositions.

c. Assign the agreement marking to the main or auxiliary verb, as appropriate.

4. Select the syntactic template(s) for the sentence following the principles in (5.2). [not relevant in this overview, *cf.* Van Valin, 2005:130]

5. Assign arguments to positions in the syntactic representation of the sentence.

a. Assign the (- WH] argument(s) to the appropriate positions in the clause.

b. If there is a [+WH] argument of a logical structure,

1. assign it to the normal position of a non-WH-argument with the same function, or

2. assign it to the precore or postcore slot, or

3. assign it to a position within the potential focus domain of the clause (default = the unmarked focus position).

c. A non- WH argument may be assigned to the precore or postcore slot, subject to focus structure restrictions (optional).

d. Assign the [- WH] argument(s) of logical structure(s) other than that of the predicator in the nucleus to

1. a periphery (default), or

2. the precore or postcore slot, or

3. the left- or right-detached position.

Considering the linking algorithm in (74), the semantics-to-syntax linking of the sentence in (75) is as shown in Fig.X4.10.

(75) John killed   Paul
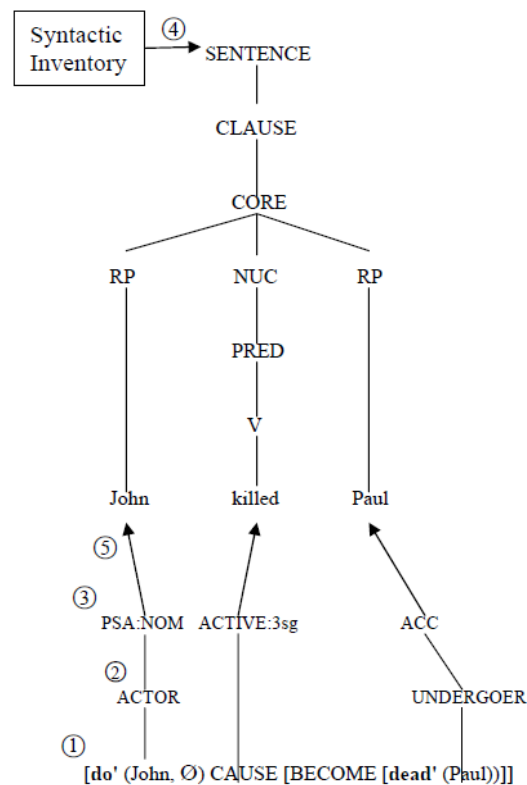
John kill.PERF.3sg Paul

Fig.17 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of ex. (75)

In Fig.17, the logical structure in step (1) gives the semantic representation of the sentence (75).

In step (2), the macroroles (MRs) are assigned to the arguments (the actor to the argument 'John', and undergoer to the argument 'Paul').

In step (3), the highest ranking MR is selected as the privileged syntactic argument (PSA), which receives the nominative case, and the other macrorole (undergoer) receives the accusative case, according to the case assignment rules for accusative constructions, as shown in (73). Still in step (3), the agreement marking (of the 3sg person) is assigned to the verb 'kill'.

In step (4), the syntactic templates are selected from the syntactic inventory of English to form the structure according to the logical structure shown in step (1);

In the final step (5), the arguments of the logical structure are assigned to positions in the syntactic representation: PSA is assigned to the preverbal position, and the direct core argument is assigned to the postverbal position. Still in step (5), the verb is linked to its nucleus node and is inflected for the past tense; and the core-internal position of the morpheme expressing the tense signals the declarative illocutionary force.

4.3. The Structure of Complex sentences

RRG has its own consistent way to classify complex sentences, which is sometimes different from the traditional classification. The RRG theory of clause linkage comprises both the analysis of nexus relations, which accounts form the syntactic relations between units in a complex construction, and the classification of junctures, which determines the nature of the units being joined.

In this section, I will briefly present these two parts of the theory of clause linkage, and some examples of complex sentences.

4.3.1 Nexus

Three kinds of nexus relations are distinguished in the theory: (i) Coordination, which occurs when two or more units of equivalent size and status are joined), (ii) Subordination, which occurs when a unit that is embedded in another serves the later either as an argument, or as a complement, or as a modifier, or as a circumstantial reference (*cf.* Van Valin, 2005:183 based on Lyons 1968:178), and, finally, (iii) Cosubordination, which is the nexus relation, indicating that units of similar size and status are joined in a coordinate-like relation, but they still share some grammatical categories (operators), such as tense, negation or mood (*cf.* Van Valin, 2005:187).

Subordination can still be differentiated with respect to the kind of embedded unit: (i) as daughter subordination, if it is embedded into the matrix clause (i.e., into a nucleus, a core, or a clause); and (ii) as peripheral (or ad-) subordination (i.e., if it is embedded in the periphery of a level of juncture).

4.3.2 Junctures

The second part of this theory concerns the nature of the junctures. In the classification of sentences, RRG considers the three essential components of the layered structure of the clause (LSC), that is, the NUCLEUS, the CORE and the CLAUSE (shown in sec. 4.1.1), including the SENTENCE, as levels of the sentence, at which units are linked, i.e. as junctures.

For instance, if two cores are linked to each other, they form a core juncture; or, if a core is linked to an independent clause, they form a clausal juncture. The first example is formed upon an unmarked pattern for the construction of complex sentences, because this

kind of juncture, which is formed of units of the same size, occurs naturally (as default) in the languages; whereas the second example is formed upon a marked pattern.

Hence, sentences can be classified in the unmarked pattern, as follows: (i) nuclear juncture, which occurs when a sentence with a single CORE contains two or more nuclei; (ii) core juncture, which occurs when multiple cores are linked inside of the CLAUSE; (iii) clausal juncture, which involves a single SENTENCE made up of multiple clauses; and (iv) sentential juncture, which is a complex construction (here, TEXT) containing at least two complete sentences.

4.3.3 Types of complex sentences

Considering the nexus relations (in sec. 4.3.1) and the levels of juncture (in sec. 4.3.2), RRG combines the four levels of juncture with the three nexus types to generate eleven possible complex sentence types, as follows: (i) nuclear cosubordination, (ii) nuclear subordination, (iii) nuclear coordination, (iv) core cosubordination, (v) core subordination, (vi) core coordination, (vii) clausal cosubordination, (viii) clausal subordination, (ix) clausal coordination, (x) sentential subordination (xi) sentential coordination.[121]

According to Van Valin (2005:208), these types of complex sentences may be ranked hierarchically in terms of how tight the units are into a single unit, as shown in Fig.18.
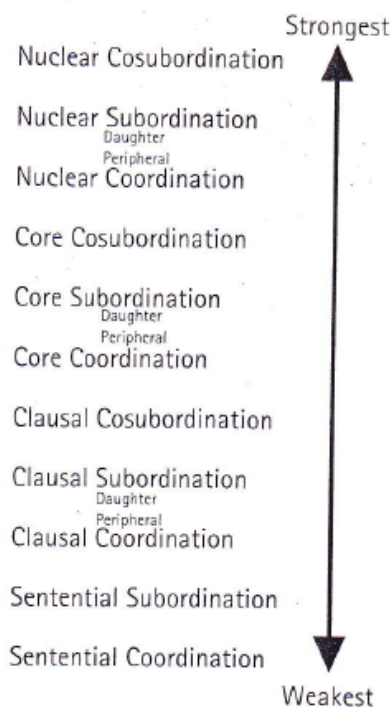

Fig.18 – The Interclausal Syntactic Relations Hierarchy

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[121] Van Valin (2010a:727) explains that there is no sentential cosubordination, because there are no sentence-level operators, which are necessary to form a cosubordinate linkage.

As inflected infinitival constructions normally occur at the level of the core, the following examples will serve to illustrate these types of complex sentences.
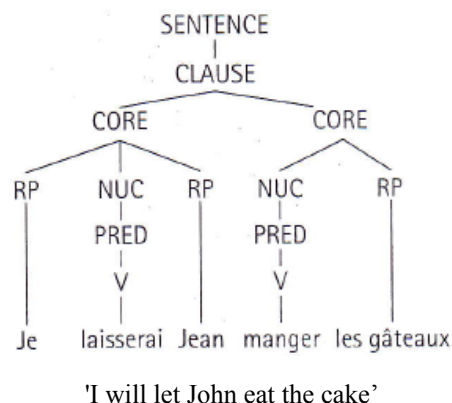

'I will let John eat the cake'

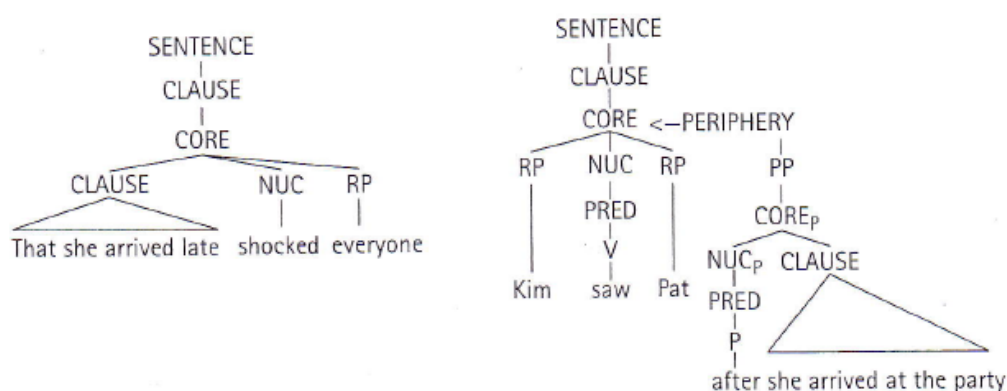Fig.19 – An example of core coordination in French (*cf*. Van Valin, 2010a:725)

Fig.20 – Examples of core daughter and peripheral subordination in English

(*cf*. Van Valin, 2010a:725)

4.4 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, a very brief overview of the RRG framework for the syntactic and semantic representations was presented.

This overview will serve as background information for the analysis of the inflected infinitival constructions in the next chapter. For example, in order to explain the two different types of constructions, the representations of the RP (in sec.4.1.2) and of the CORE (in sec. 4.1.1) will be necessary, because the first type behaves as a reference phrase, whereas the second one functions as a predicating phrase.

These two basic representations of the infinitival constructions will be joined to different structures, forming distinctive types of complex sentences, which are explained in RRG in terms of the Theory of Clause Linkage, shown in sec. 4.3.

Some of these complex sentences will subsequently be explained through the linking from semantics to syntax, whose procedures (the linking algorithm) were given in sec. 4.2.4. Additionally, the case assignment rules for accusative languages (in sec. 4.2.3) seems to provide a further support for the idea that nominative case is assigned to the subject, because it is the HR MR argument of the inflected infinitive, which in turn agrees with it, since it functions just like the finite verb controller (*cf. fn*. 120). This will be verified in the analysis, in the following chapter.

5. The Analysis

Due to the fact that an infinitive bears both nominal and verbal properties, it is necessary to include these features in the analysis of the inflected infinitive, in order to define it and represent it in a suitable way applying the tools of the RRG framework presented in the previous chapter.

Since RRG posits a very concrete syntactic representation of the structure of the sentence, which corresponds to its actual form, it is necessary to make a distinction between the representation of the inflected infinitive with a definite article, which bears both nominal and verbal properties (as in 76.a), and the one without it, which has just verbal properties (as in 76.b). The construction without the article can be simply represented as a CORE, since it behaves just like the core of a finite verb. However, the infinitival construction with the article can be neither represented just as a predicating phrase (CORE), because it could not accommodate the nominal operator DEF (its article) in its representation; nor just as a complex reference phrase (RP) because of the agreement on the inflected infinitive. For this reason, it is necessary to consider this kind of construction again and see how the theory deals with lexical items with undefined lexical categories.

(76) a. "A solução da vida está no alternar-mos coisas diversas."

     The solution of life is in DEF alternate.INF.1.pl things various

     'The solution of life is in that we alternate different things.'

  b. Eu vi eles saír-em

    1.sg.NOM see.PERF.1sg 3.pl.NOM get out.INF.3pl.

    'I saw them getting out.'

In the introduction and, more specifically, in chapter two, one could find some properties of the inflected infinitive that are related both to a referring argument expression

(e.g., its occurrence with a definite article) and to a predicate phrase (i.e., the ones shared with the finite verb), repeated here in (77):

(77)   a. It can take a definite article (like an RP);

b. It builds a core (like a predicate);

c. It can be modified by an adverb (like a predicate);

d. It can be inflected like a finite verb with respect to person marking (predicate).

These properties would render the classification of the inflected infinitive difficult, if its categorical information were necessary to be included beforehand in the analysis. However, since the notion of the nucleus, through which a given syntactic category is represented, is neither endocentric nor restricted to lexical heads[122], its label is not relevant for the analysis. In this regards, Van Valin (2008a:164-166) suggests for the syntactic projection of the lexical item 'proving', whose set of morphosyntactic properties overlaps with those of 'prove' (V) and of 'proof' (N), the following:

> "[…] Since syntactic projections of this lexical item [*sc*. proving] do not depend on its category, there is no need to assign it to one or the other. When its "object-word" properties are highlighted or most relevant, then it would function as the NUC_R in an RP, when its "action-word" properties are most relevant, then it would function as a clausal NUC.[…]" (*cf*. Van Valin, 2008a:176)

Thus, when the lexical category of a lexical item cannot be easily defined, one should consider its most relevant properties[123], in order to decide about classifying it as a referring argument or as a predicate phrase.

Unfortunately, the class of the infinitives was not directly referred to in his analysis; however, one can infer from his considerations on the complex constructions of Nootka, an Indian language in North America, and of Tagalog, a Philippine language[124]; that an item

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[122] Van Valin (2008a) points out that a syntactic category does not need to be endocentric, i.e., be a projection of a (grammatical or lexical) head, in order to be analyzed in RRG, and he illustrates it with Everett's (2006) claim that the adequate analysis of some complex constructions of Wari, an Amazonian language, crucially depends on the RRG notion of nucleus as a syntactic category which is neither endocentric nor restricted to a lexical head (*cf*. Van Valin, 2008a: 161).

[123] Van Valin (2008a) suggests three distinctions to help classifying parts of speech, based on Himmelmann (2008): (i) whether a word expresses an action, object, property, etc. (ontological or conceptual categories); (ii) if this word belongs to the lexical category of noun, verb, adjective, etc. (classification with respect to its morphosyntactic and morphophonoligical properties); and (iii) whether a lexical category is characterized in RRG in terms of the nucleus of a core, of the nucleus of an argument expression or of the nucleus of an adpositional expression. The way these distinctions are aligned for a given lexical item should indicate its most relevant properties, in order to analyze this item as bearing either a NUC_R (i.e., as a RP) or a NUC (i.e., as a Predicate phrase), (*cf*. Van Valin, 2008a:162-163).

[124] *cf*. Van Valin, 2008a:162-169

bearing both noun-like and verb-like properties can be represented as having a "mixed" nucleus, in the way that the referring expression shows a V inside its NUC$_R$, due to its semantic functions of predicating, as shown in the representation of the Nootka sentence proposed by Van Valin (2008a:169).

(78)   Qo:ʔas-ma   wała:k-ʔi.
        man-3sgPRES go-the
      'The one going is a man.'

```
                        SENTENCE
                           |
                        CLAUSE
                           |
                         CORE
                        ╱    ╲
                     NUC      RP
                      |        |
                    PRED     CORE_R
                      |        |
                      N      NUC_R
                      |        |
                      |        V
                      |        |
                  Qo:ʔas-ma  wała:k-ʔi
                      |  ╲      |     ┆
                      N   ╲╲    V     ┆
                      |    ╲╲   |     ┆
                    NUC    ╲╲  NUC_R  ┆
                      |     ╲╲  |     ┆
                    CORE   ╲ ╲ CORE_R ┆
                      |     ╲ ╲  |    ┆
               CLAUSE <-TNS ╲ RP<—DEF
                      |       ╲
               CLAUSE <——-IF
                      |
                  SENTENCE
```
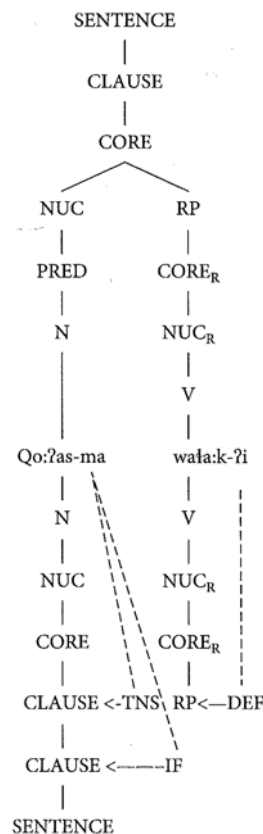
Fig.21 – The syntactic structure of the Nootka example in terms of RP (cited from Van Valin,2008a:169)

As for the inflected infinitive with an article, in order to accommodate all its properties, it would be necessary to consider the existence of a mixed nucleus$_R$ like in Fig.21. However, the construction would be constituted of a template for a CORE inside of one of a NUC$_R$, which would be in turn inside of an RP. There, the CORE would embody the verbal aspects of the inflected infinitive, and the RP would show the operator DEF in the operator projection. The inflection of the inflected infinitive, which forms with the overt subject a double marking of the subject, is represented in the AGX node (i.e., Agreement Index Node) inside the NUC, as suggested by Belloro (2004) with respect to Spanish clitics.[125] In the following figures, one

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[125] According to Belloro (2004), a bundle of agreement features (e.g., agreement features of the subject, of the object, etc.), which the argument positions in the Logical Structure includes, is assigned to the AGX node in

can see the syntactic projection of the inflected infinitive without an article, in Fig. 22, and the projection of the one with the definite article, in Fig. 23.
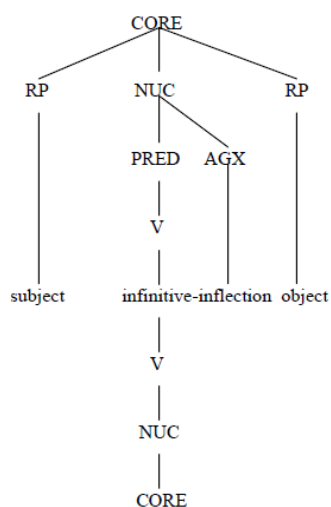

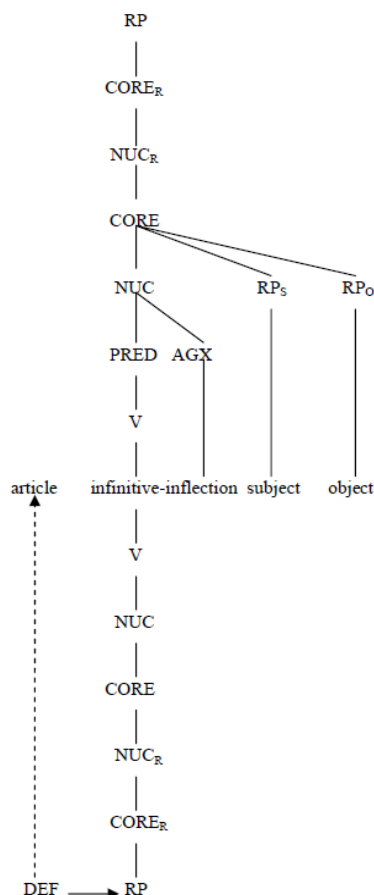Fig. 22 – The layered structure of the inflected Infinitive without an article

Fig. 23 – The layered structure of the inflected Infinitive with an article

As one can see in Fig.22, the verbal properties of the inflected infinitive without an article can be represented with a CORE with an AGX node in the NUC for the inflection. In Fig.23 both the nominal operator DEF and the verbal properties of the inflected infinitive with an article are represented in the RP; in this representation, the overt subject occurs in the postverbal position, based on Barbosa's and Almeida's examples, shown in (5) and (6), on p. 6 and p. 7, respectively .

Additionally, in both figures one can see a double representation of the subject: (i) the overt subject occurs in the argument position of the CORE; and (ii) the inflection in the AGX

Spanish cliticized constructions and they are further interpreted by a morpho-phonological rule that spells out their correct realization. As a result, the arguments of a sentence occurring as independent NPs can be reproduced just using bound clitics. For instance, the sentence *Juan le_i compró el regalo a María_i*, i.e. 'Juan bought the present for Maria' could be expressed as *Se lo compró*, i.e. '[He] bought it for her' – a special feature of some varieties of Spanish is the presence of a clitic that is coreferential with an independent NP in the same sentence (doubling). (cf. Belloro, 2004b:6, in Nolan, 2004). Similarly, the agreement feature of the subject of the inflected infinitive, which fills an argument position in the Logical Structure, is also assigned to the AGX node and the infinitive is further coded for person, representing the subject in the NUC).

node also cross-references the subject. This double reference to the subject can be seen as a head-marking property of Portuguese, which is essentially a dependent-marking language.[126] According to these representations, the examples (76.a) and (76.b), repeated here as (79) and (80), respectively, would be represented as follows:

(79)   a. "A solução da vida está no   alternar-mos   coisas diversas."

             The solution of life   is   in DEF alternate.INF.1.pl things various

             'The solution of life is in that we alternate different things.'

---

[126] This affirmation is based on Belloro's (2004) claim for Spanish that is also true for Portuguese. For her:

> "Spanish is a dependent-marking language with, arguably, certain head-marking properties, exemplified by the fact that, as Lenz put it, "el verbo encierra en sí todo el régimen de la oración" (1920:54-55); that is, the verb stem, plus its subject and object agreement markers, can constitute a sentence on its own.[…]" (*cf.* Belloro, 2004:41)

These considerations can be applied to Portuguese as well. For instance, in her discussion she explains this feature of Spanish using, among others, the following example: *Se los compró*, 'they bought them for them', in which the verb and its arguments in form of clitics would correspond to a full sentence (cf. Belloro, 2004:41-47). This also occurs in Portuguese, and the corresponding Portuguese translation for the sentence above would be: *comprou-lhos*, in which the dative clitic *lhes* 'to them' fuses with the accusative clictic *os* 'them', forming *lhos*, which is attached to the verb in form of a bound morpheme under the AGX node. Accordingly, the subject agreement on the inflected infinitive shows another property of a head-marking language that is principally visible when the overt subject does not occur, in a way that the indication of the subject is solely made through the inflection in the AGX inside of the NUC.
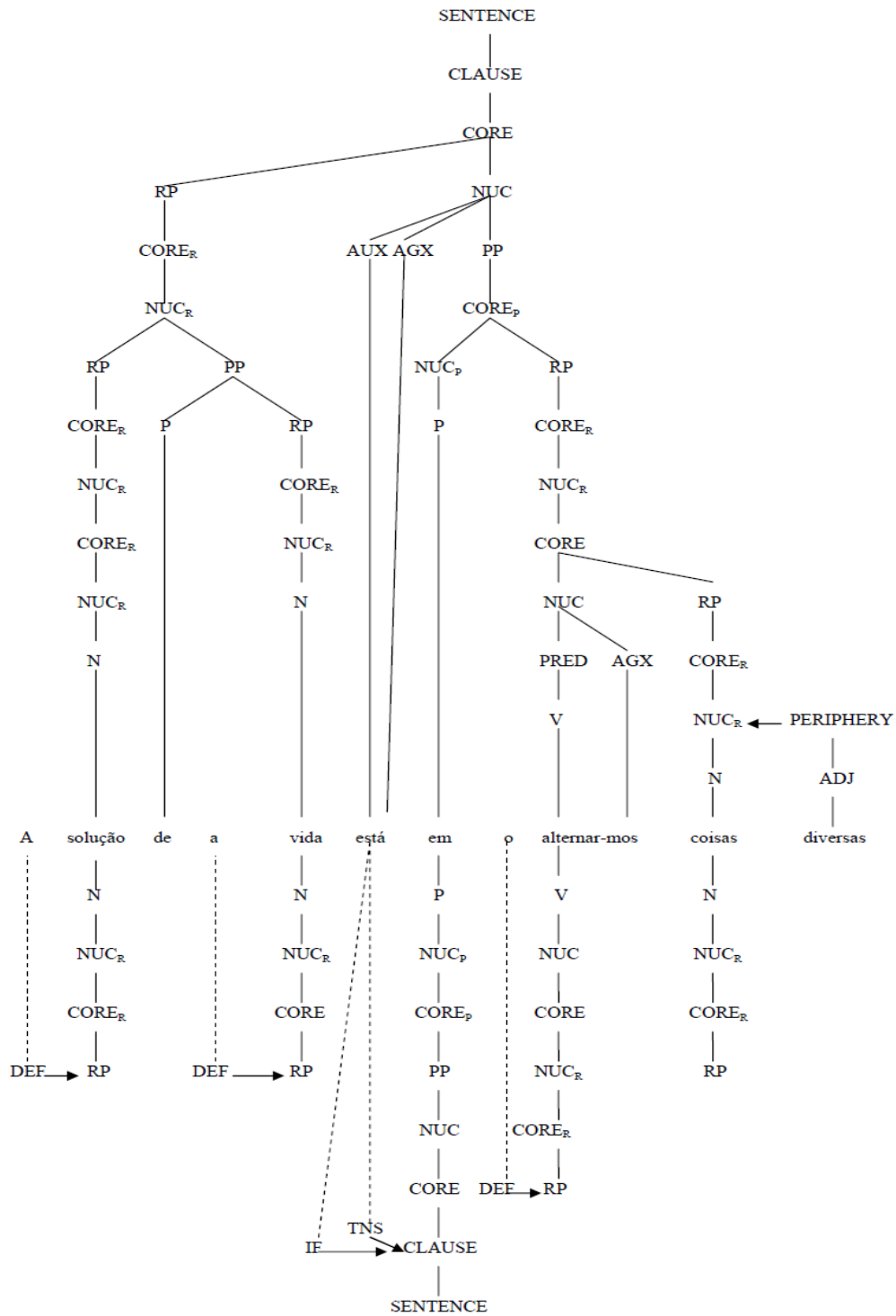
Fig.24 – The layered structure of the example (79)

And Fig.25 shows the example (76.b), repeated here as (80).

(80)   Eu   vi   eles   saír-em

         1.sg.NOM see.PERF.1sg 3.pl.NOM get out.INF.3pl.
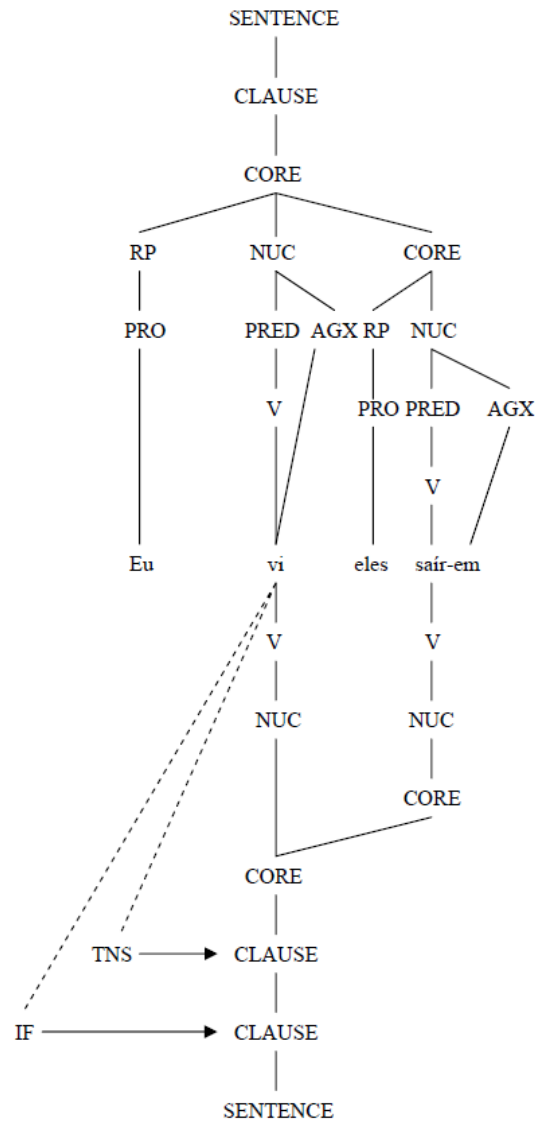
         'I saw them getting out.'

Fig.25 – The layered structure of the example (80)

Fig.24 shows the syntactic projection of a prepositional phrase, which has an inflected infinitival construction with an article as its argument; for this reason, it is represented as an RP with a mixed nucleus$_R$ with a CORE inside of it. The nominal operator DEF is represented at the level of the RP, and the inflection in the AGX, referring to the subject of the action expressed by the verb. The verb *está* 'be.PRES.3sg' is in the AUX node, and not in the NUC, because it is just a tense-carrier and a copular verb to link the subject to the predicative PP.

In Fig.25 an infinitival construction without an article is represented just with a CORE with an AGX node inside of its NUC, in which the inflection that is coreferential with the overt subject occurs.

Both figures are projections of subordination: Fig.24 is NUCLEAR subordination, because the inflected infinitive is the argument of P inside of PP predicate in the NUCLEUS, and Fig.25 is CORE subordination, because the attached construction is linked to the main

clause at the level of the CORE, showing that it is an argument of it, that is, in Fig.24 the PP with the inflected infinitive is the predicate itself, whereas in Fig.25 the whole infinitival construction is the object of the main verb.

Now, one can apply these syntactic projections of the inflected infinitive in some sentences shown in the sec. 2.0.2 and in sec. 2.2. Due to the limited scope of this study, only an example of each aspect shown in the range of its applications in section 2.2 will be analyzed here, that is, an example of an inflected infinitival construction as the subject of the main clause in a core subordination, in the group of complement clauses; an example of Ad-core subordination (temporal clause) and two of core subordination (the purposive clauses shown in the sec. 2.0.2.) in the group of "adverbial clauses"; and finally an example of a core subordination of a headless construction (the headless relative clause), one of a complement of a noun in a core subordination, and one of a complement of an adjective in a core subordination, in the group of relative clauses.

5.1 The Analysis of the distribution of the inflected infinitive in the RRG framework

In this section, some examples of inflected infinitives, which were shown in chapter two, will be analyzed applying the RRG framework.

5.1.1 The Inflected Infinitive in Complement Clauses

The first group of inflected infinitives presented in section 2.2 involved complement clauses. In RRG, an argument of the verb is a constituent of the CORE, which is basically constituted of RPs (the position of subjects and objects), PPs (the positions of oblique objects) and of a NUC (the position of the V), as shown in the chapter four. Thus the RPs and the PPs inside of the CORE will be the positions of complement clauses in the main clause, in which the inflected infinitive constructions will form core subordinations with the main clause. In other words, this kind of subordination occurs in the CORE, because these constructions are replacing arguments of the verbs that are necessary for the comprehension of the sentence; such as the example (21.a), repeated here as (81),with its syntactic structure in Fig.26 below.

(81)   Foi uma alegria meus filhos   me visitarem

         was a   joy   my   children me visit.INF.3pl

         'It was a joy that my children visited me.'

Fig.26 – The layered structure of an inflected infinitival construction as a subject of the main clause

In Fig.26 the infinitival construction, which occurs after the predicate, is the subject of the CORE. The verb *foi* 'was' is in the slot AUX because it does not predicate, it only functions as a tense-carrier and a copular verb, linking the predicative RP to the infinitival construction (the subject). Inside of the infinitival construction, the inflection in AGX and the overt subject are coreferential (double marking of the subject). This infinitival construction is an example of Core subordination because it functions an argument of the nucleus of the core, i.e., it is necessary for the comprehension of the sentence.

5.1.2 The Inflected Infinitive in Adverbial Clauses

The second group of inflected infinitives presented in section 2.2 was the one of adverbial constructions, which are often marked with a preposition as a subordinator. In RRG,

adverbs are represented in the PERIPHERY at the level of the CORE or of the CLAUSE, depending on the modifier they represent. Accordingly, the inflected infinitive constructions will be inserted in the PERIPHERY of these two nodes in the main clause, forming ad-core and ad-clausal subordinations, respectively; these constructions do not replace arguments of the verbs, but only modifiers that are not essential for the comprehension of the sentence, as shown in Fig.27, an example of an ad-core subordination.

(82) d. "Depois de acabar-es   o trabalho, podes   sair."

　　　　After   finish.INF.2sg the work   can.PRES.2sg go-out.INF

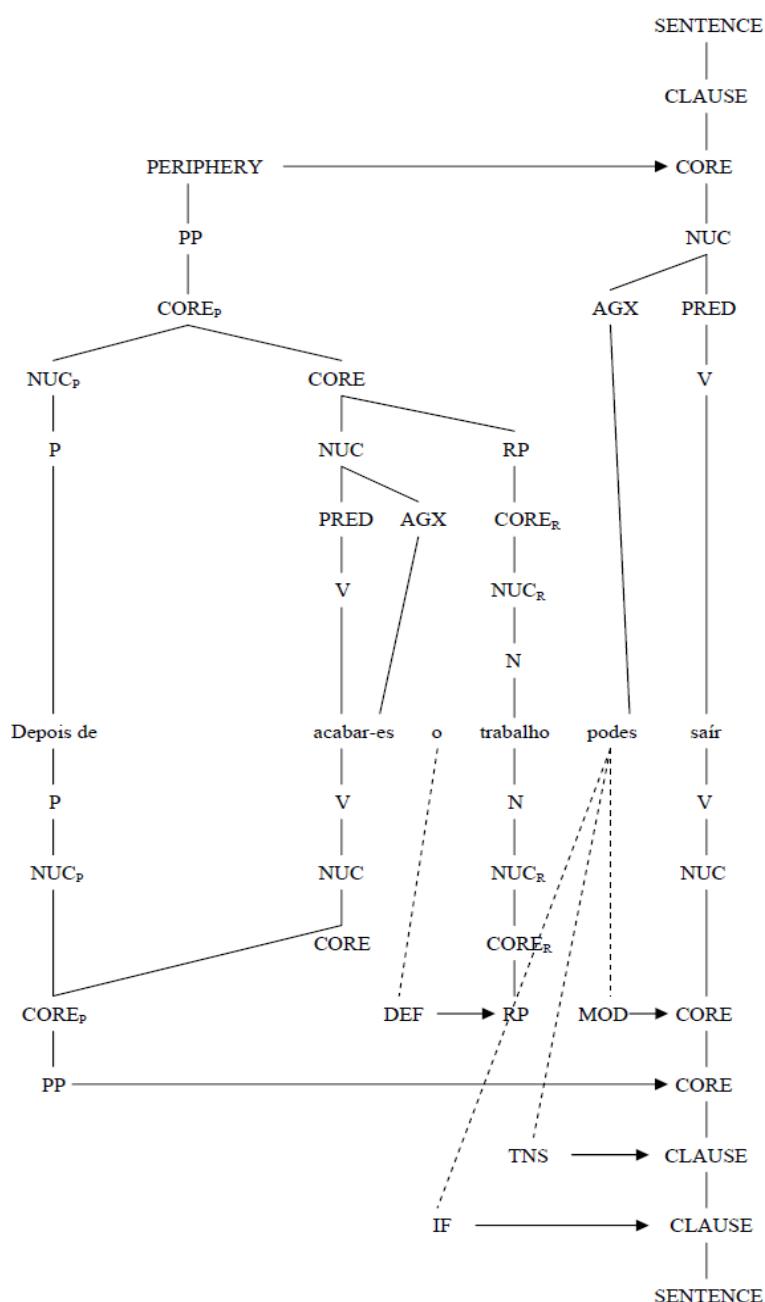　　　'After finishing the work, you can go out'

Fig.27 – The layered structure of an inflected infinitival construction in ad-core subordination

In Fig.27, one can see that the event represented by the PP with the infinitival construction is not required by the CORE of the main clause, and so it is represented in the periphery_{CORE} of the main clause, building an ad-core subordination.

The following sentences are purposive clauses that bear different structures. The examples below are based on the sentences in (9.a) and (9.b), presented in sec. 2.0.2.

(83)   a. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ preu$_k$ comer-ø$_k$ _____$_j$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to 1sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg
       'She bought [an] apple for me to eat'

       b. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ pra nós$_k$ comer-mos$_k$ _____$_j$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to 1pl.NOM eat.INF.1pl
       'She bought [an] apple for us to eat'

       b'. *Nós$_i$ compramos   maçã$_j$ pra nós$_i$ comer-mos$_i$ _____$_j$.
          3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.1pl apple[3sgF] to 1pl.NOM eat.INF.1pl

       c. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ pra ela$_k$ comer-ø$_k$ _____$_j$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   3sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg
       'She bought [an] apple for her to eat'

       c'. *Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ pra ela$_i$ comer-ø$_i$ _____$_j$.
          3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   3sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg

       d. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ para _____$_i$ comer _____$_j$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   eat.INF
       'She bought [an] apple to eat'

       e. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ pra mim$_k$ _____$_k$ comer_____$_j$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   1sg.DAT   eat.INF
       'She bought [an] apple for me to eat'

       e'. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ pra mim$_k$.
          3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   1sg.DAT

       f. Ela$_i$ comprou   maçã$_j$ para eu$_k$ a$_j$ comer-ø$_k$.
       3sgF.NOM buy.PERF.3sg apple[3sgF] to   1sg.NOM 3sgF.ACC eat.INF.1sg
       'She bought [an] apple [in order] for me to eat it'

As one can see in the examples (83.a-e), the second core has at least one shared argument with the main core (i.e., the object) indicated by the lowcase $_j$. It is not a null phonological element but just an indication that the object of the verb *comer* 'eat', which occurs just once in the main clause, is the same as the one of the main verb *comprar* 'buy', that is, just to facilitate the explanation of the sentences here. Because these sentences have a

shared argument with the main clause, it cannot be represented as the sentence above, i.e. in the periphery, shown in Fig. 27. Instead, their infinitival core occurs inside of the main clause.

In (83.a), (83.b) and (83.c), the inflected infinitival cores with their overt subjects occur inside of the main clause (because of the shared argument), and they are linked to the matrix core by the preposition *pra* (i.e. *para*) 'to', which functions as a clause linkage-marker (CLM) and indicates the purpose of the main core. In (83.a), *preu* is the port-monteau construction of *para* ('to', CLM) and *eu* (1sg.NOM).

In (83.d), one can see a plain infinitival construction which shares both its subject and its object with the main clause. When there is no person marking on the infinitive verbs, such as in (83.d), it means that the subject of the main core is also the logical subject of the plain infinitive, and the object in the main core is the object in the infinitive. This construction cannot be an inflected infinitival core because of a constraint that blocks the same subject from constituting an inflected infinitive construction in such purposive clauses, as shown in (83.b') and (83.c'); it would only be considered well-formed if it would occur far from the original subject, e.g. in a sequence of events (as shown in the review of the grammatical accounts in chapter three), or if it were in a contrastive situation, in which it were necessary to specify the the same subject again in contrast to an other referent. In contrast to these sentences, the sentence in (83.c), which has also an overt 3sg.NOM subject, can only mean a different person as the subject of the main clause that would justify the inflected infinitival core.

In (83.e), the idea of purpose is expressed by the prepositional phrase with its object in the dative case. Since it can be left out without changing the meaning of the main clause, this PP is represented in the periphery of the main core, and it gives just extra information. However, there is still an infinitival core in the sentence, whose subject is the object of the PP and whose object is shared with the main core.

And finally, the sentence (83.f) does not have any shared arguments, neither with the matrix clause nor with any core in the periphery (such as in 83.e). Instead, the second core in (83.f) has a pronoun (*a* 'it') that is coreferential to an argument of the main core (*maçã* 'apple'). Since coreference is not equal to argument sharing, because it does not involve a missing argument in the second core, but just a pronoun that refers to an argument of the other core, one can say that this sentence differs from the other two types. Hence, the whole purposive core is in the periphery of the matrix core, since it could be left out without altering the meaning of the main core.

In the sentences 83, one can identify three kinds of constructions: (i) a non-subordinate construction with a second core sharing two arguments from different structures, forming a core cosubordination, such as in (83.d) and (83.e); (ii) a non-subordinate construction with a shared object forming a core coordination, exemplified in (83.a), (83.b) and (83.c); and (iii) a subordinate construction with a second core without any shared arguments, such as in (83.f).

This syntactic structures of (83.e), (83.a), and (83.f), which are repeated here as (84.a), (84.b) and (84.c) with glosses, are shown in Fig.28, Fig.29 and Fig.30, respectively.

(84)   a. Ela   comprou   maçã pra mim   comer.

         3sg.NOM buy.3sg.PERF apple for 1sg.DAT eat.INF.1sg

   'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

     b. Ela   comprou   maçã preu   comer.

        3sg.NOM buy.3sg.PERF apple for 1sg.NOM eat.INF.1sg

    'She bought [an] apple for me to eat.'

     c. Ela   comprou   maçã para eu   a   comer.

        3sg.NOM buy.3sg.PERF apple for   1sg.NOM Fsg.ACC eat.INF.1sg

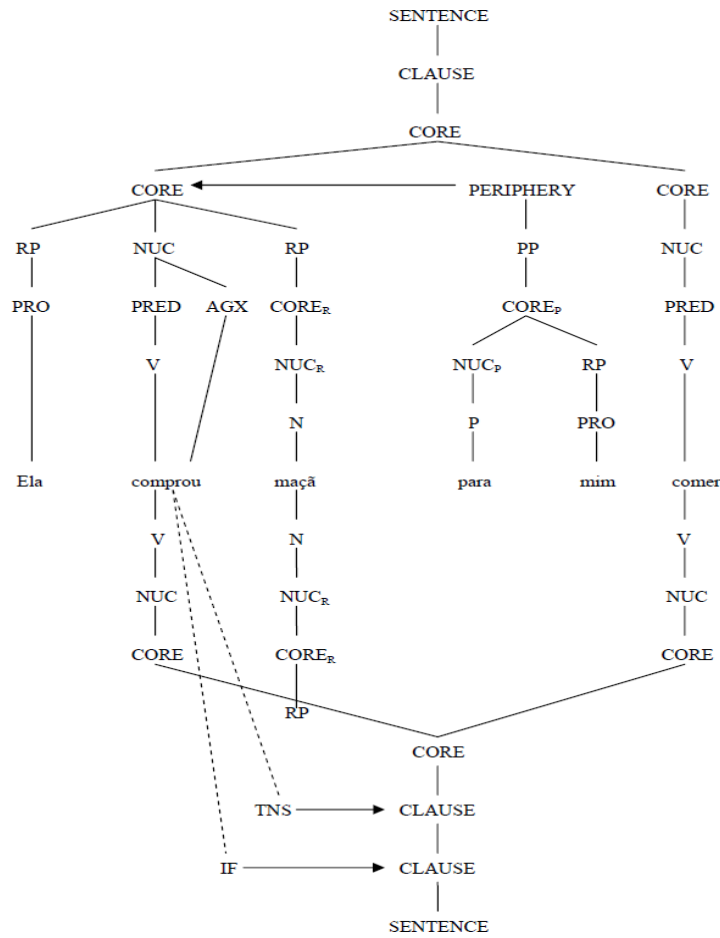   'She bought [an] apple [in order] for me to eat it.'

Fig.28 – The layered structure of a plain infinitival construction with two shared core arguments (ex. 84.a)
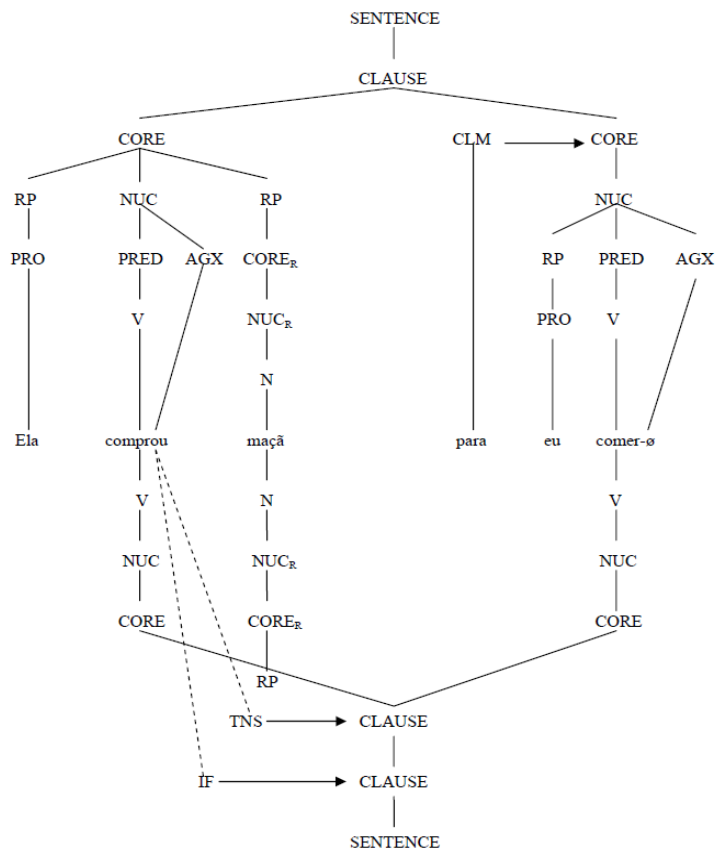

Fig.29 – The layered structure of an inflected infinitival construction with one shared core argument (ex. 84.b)
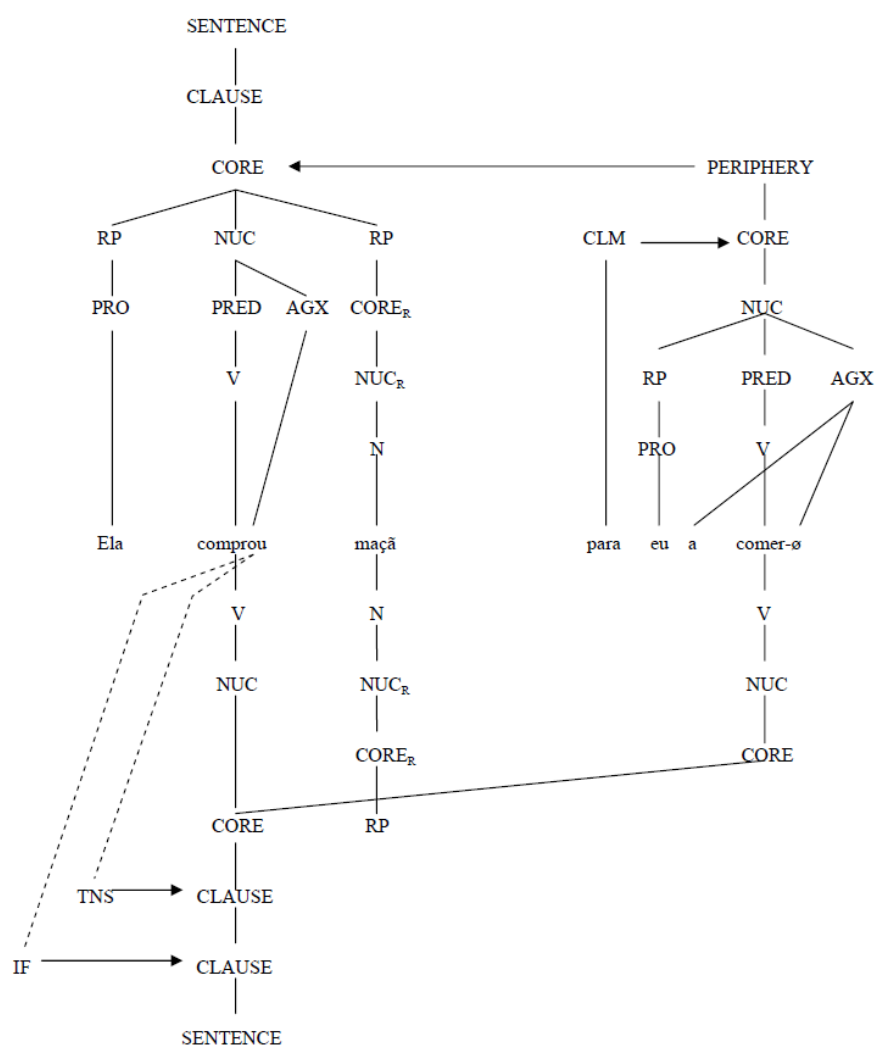
Fig.30 - The syntactic structure of an inflected infinitival construction in the core periphery (ex. 84.c)

As one can see, the Fig.28, Fig.29 and Fig.30 represent equivalent sentences (considering their glosses in (83)) with different structures.

In Fig.28 the verb is not an inflected infinitive but a plain one, because its logical subject in the dative case is a direct argument of the preposition, which occurs in the periphery of the matrix core, and not directly as an argument of the infinitival construction. For this reason, its logical subject occurs inside of the CORE$_P$ and the object of the plain infinitival core is a shared object, that is, the infinitive shares its subject with the object of the preposition *para* and its object with the matrix core, forming a core cosubordination, in which the infinitival core shares two arguments with different structures.

In Fig.29 the nominative subject is a direct argument of the inflected infinitive and it is coreferential with the zero-morpheme (the morpheme of the first person singular) on the infinitive; for this reason its overt subject occurs inside of the infinitival core and its inflection under the AGX node. This infinitival core occurs inside of the CLAUSE together with the matrix core, because of the shared object, forming a core coordination.

As one can see in Fig.30 above, there is no shared argument between the matrix core and the infinitival core in the periphery$_{CORE}$. However, the meaning of the enclitic *a* 'it' (F3sg) under the AGX node depends on the object of the matrix core, forming an ad-core subordination. The AGX of the infinitival core bears information both on the subject (in form of the inflection attached to the verb, which is coreferential with the overt subject *eu* 'I') and on the object (in form of the enclitic *a*, which it is coreferential with the object of the matrix core, *maçã* 'apple').

5.1.3 The Inflected Infinitive in Relative Clauses

The third and final group of inflected infinitives presented in section 2.2 involved relative clauses. These constructions are additional information about the referring argument expressions of the clause; Scida (2004), on which this distribution of the inflected infinitive is based, includes adjectives, along with nouns and headless constructions, as forming relative clauses.

The first case is the one of a headless relative clause, which is linked to the main clause as an argument of the verb. This kind of relative clause refers to an RP; and for this reason, it is like a complement clause. Hence, the RP, in which the headless relative clause occurs, will be represented as an argument of the CORE of the matrix clause; and its relative pronoun, which functions as an argument of the CORE of the inflected infinitive, will be represented in the PrCS of the infinitival CORE, and inside of the PP, whose preposition is required by the infinitive, as shown in Fig.31 below.

(85) "[...] não terão   com que se   aparelhar-em   para a safra vindoura."
         not will-have with what themselves prepare.INF.3pl for the harvest coming
       'They will not have [anything] with which to prepare themselves for the coming
        harvest.'

Fig. 31 – The layered structure of a headless relative clause

The syntactic projection in Fig.31 shows an infinitival construction in form of an RP as an argument of the CORE of the main verb. This infinitival construction indicates its subject through inflection in the AGX inside of the NUC, and an undefined argument of the CORE which is represented by the relative pronoun (PRO_REL) and introduced by the preposition *com* 'with' (required by the verb). The adpositional element in the PERIPHERY presents the reason of the action expressed by the verb, which is optional. The enclitic *se* 'oneself' is required by the verb and it indicates the subject as well, and it is also represented

in the AGX. This construction forms with the main clause a core subordination, since the headless relative clause is attached to the main clause at the level of the CORE in the main clause. It functions as a core argument.

The second case presented by Scida (2004) in this group involved a noun (*a liberdade*, 'liberty') that is linked to the infinitive construction through a preposition (*de* 'of'). This kind of information on the noun is necessary for the comprehension of the noun, because it specifies it, showing to what kind of liberty it refers. As an argument of the complex RP, the PP with the infinitival core is represented in the CORE$_R$, as shown below.

(86) "Ele oferecia […] a liberdade de sacudir-mos as pernas à vontade."
He offered the freedom of shake.INF.1pl the legs at will
'He offered [us] the freedom of putting our feet up at will.'
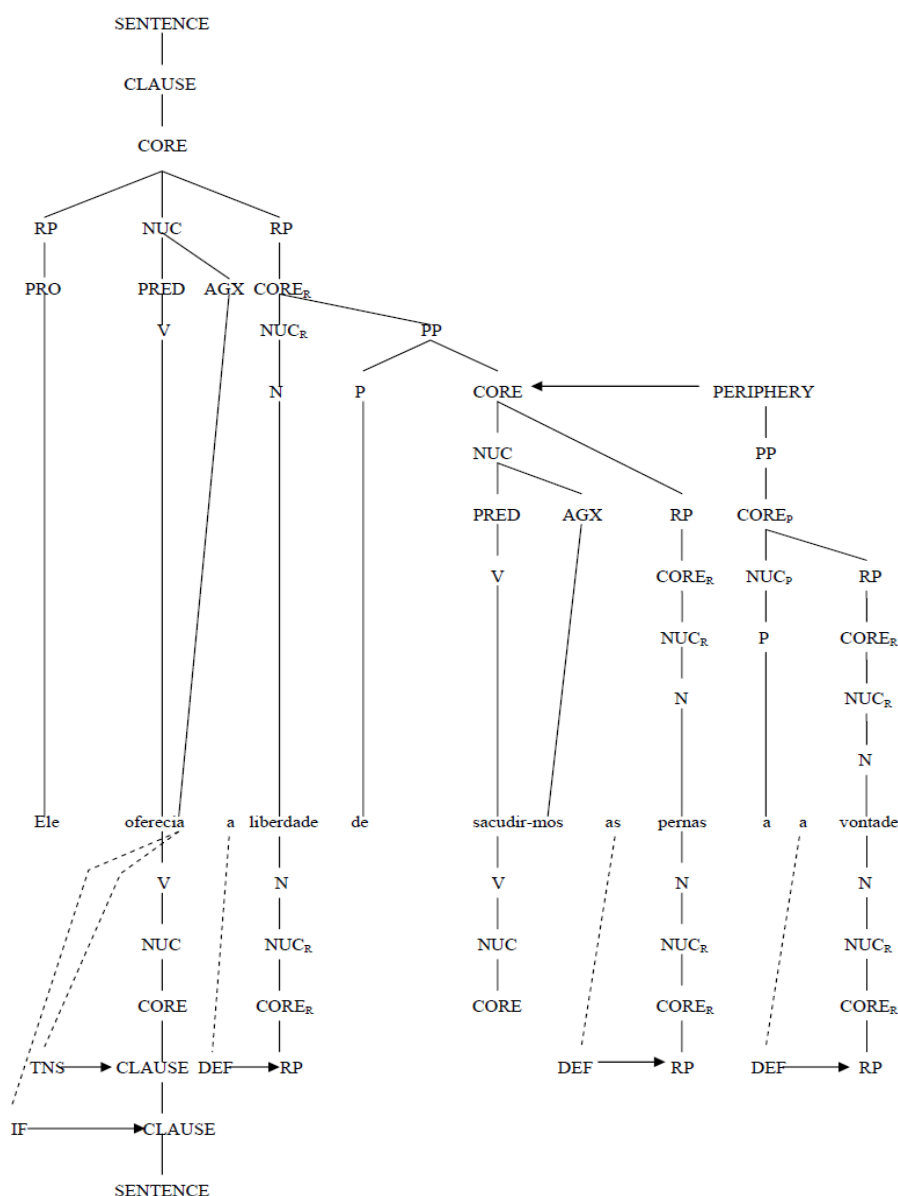
Fig. 32 – The layered structure of an infinitival construction as the complement of a complex noun

In Fig.32 one can see the inflected infinitival core that functions as an argument of the complex RP of the main clause. This construction is linked to the RP through a PP introduced by the preposition *de* 'of'. The whole construction forms with the RP of the main clause a core subordination, because the subordinate junct occurs at the level of the CORE$_R$, and the construction is necessary for the comprehension of the complex RP.

The third and last case of this group involved an infinitival clause functioning as a complement to the adjective; actually, it is no relative clause, as Scida (2004) presents it, because relative clauses cannot modify an adjective. Like adverbs, adjectives are also considered in RRG as modifiers but, in this case, of nouns. The whole adjectival phrase (AdjP), in which the PP with the inflected infinitival construction is a core argument, functions as a modifier of the RP, as shown in Fig.33 below, representing the syntactic structure of the example (87).

(87)   "Encontrei   algumas pessoas desejosas de conhecerem   melhor o assunto"
          find.PRET.1sg some   people   interested of know.INF.3pl better the topic
          'I found some people who are interested in knowing the topic better'
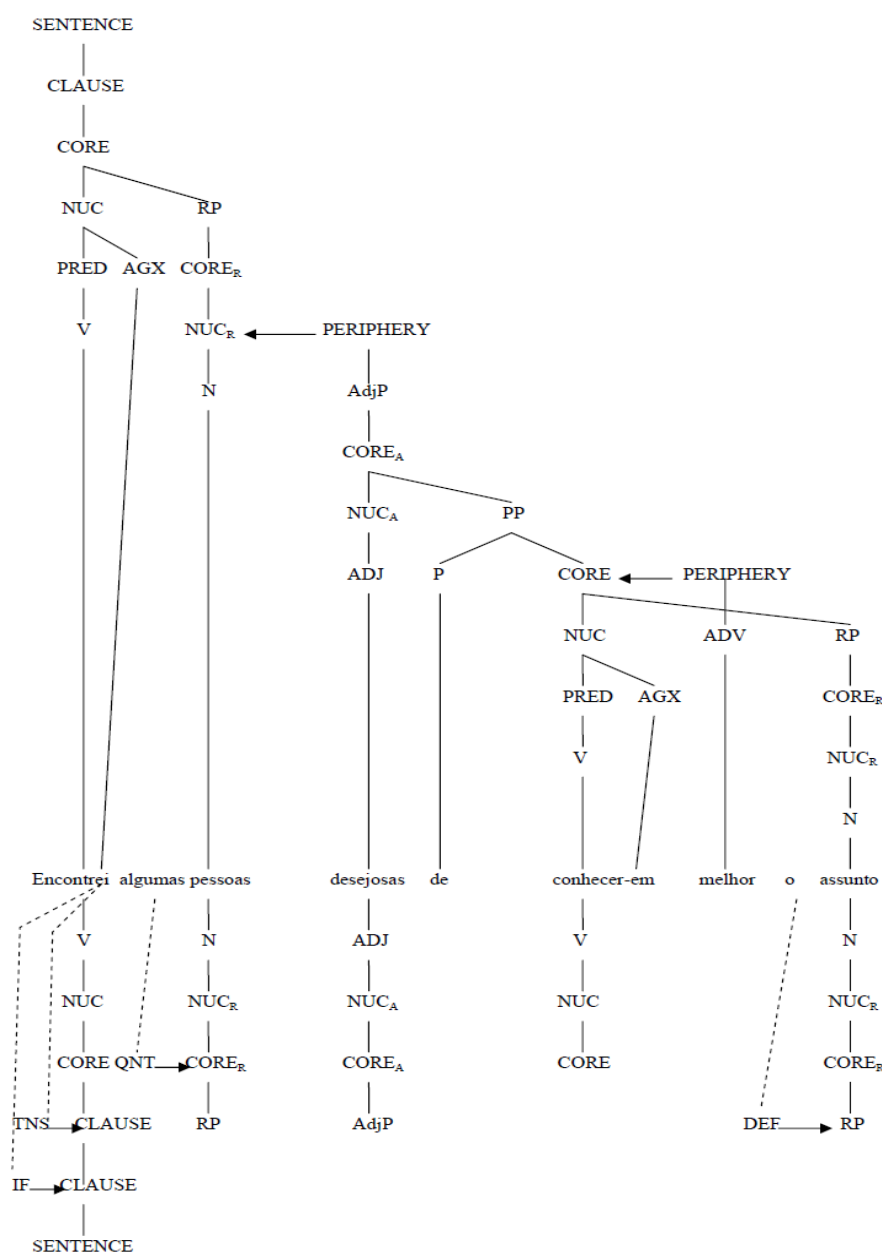
Fig. 33 – The layered structure of an infinitival construction as the complement of a complex adjective

The inflected infinitive inside of the PP, depicted in Fig.33, is the core argument of the AdjP *desejosas* 'willing', which is modifying the argument of the main verb. Since the adjective is a restrictive modifier of the RP, it appears in the PERIPHERY of the NUC_R; and, the inflected infinitive inside the PP, which functions as an argument of the AdjP, is represented in the adjectival core, that is, when there is a nominal adjectival complement, which is normally a PP, then the infinitival CORE is the object of the same P, i.e. *de* 'of'. In the infinitival construction one can identify its subject (through inflection) in the AGX in the NUC, its object in the CORE, and a modifier (*melhor* 'better') in the PERIPHERY of the CORE. Thus, the inflected infinitive in the PP forms a Core subordination, since it is core argument of the AdjP.

5.2. The semantics-to-syntax linking of inflected infinitival cores

In order to obtain further understanding of the syntactic structures presented so far, one can relate them to their semantics, that is, by giving a full linking representation from semantics to syntax. Considering the fact that the main goal of this study is to give a syntactic representation of the inflected infinitive, I will just present the semantics-to-syntax linking of the bidirectional linking algorithm and only in terms of the two types of basic core junctures, i.e. a full linking of a subordinate example (e.g., the sentence (82) in Fig.34) and one of a non-subordinate example (e.g., the sentence (84.b) in Fig.35), in order to illustrate how the logical structures (their semantics) of these inflected infinitival cores tie in with their layered structures of the clause (their syntax); all the other examples of linking will be simplified, just to show the point at hand.

The subordinate example is a case of peripheral$_{CORE}$ subordination and its linking is shown in Fig.34.
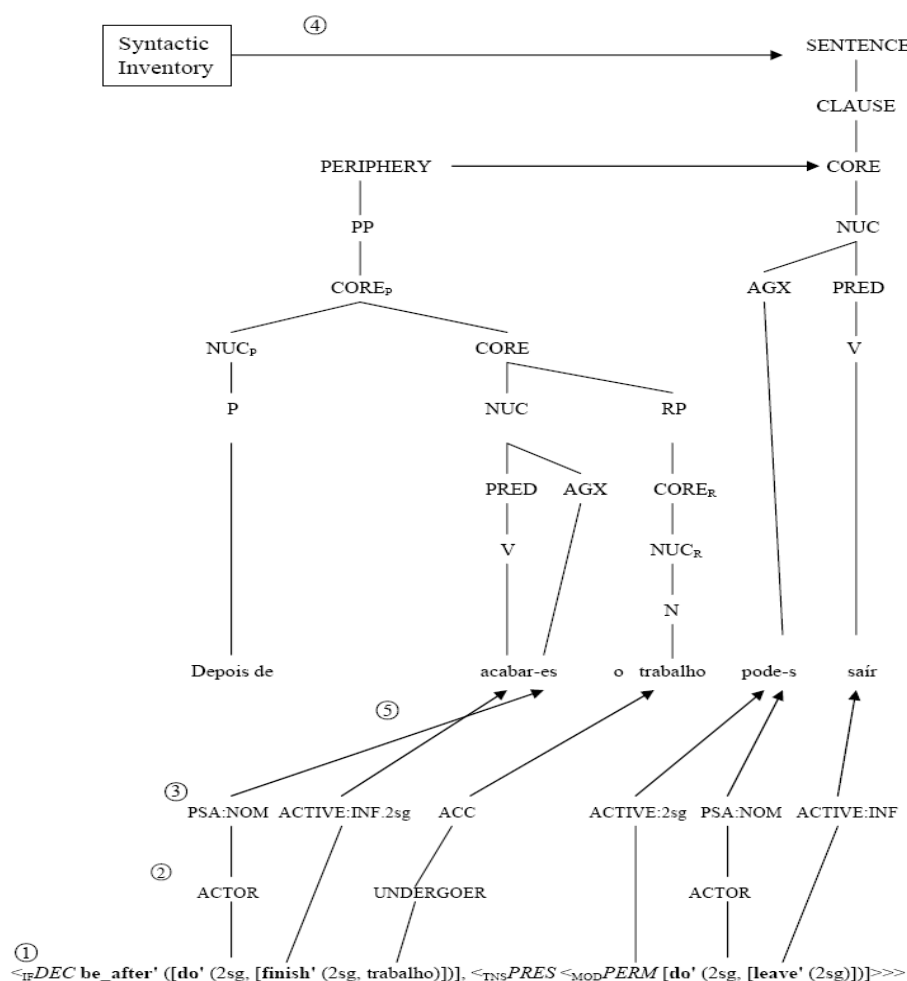

Fig.34 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of example (82)

As one can see in Fig.34, the logical structure presented in step (1) gives the semantic representation of the sentence (82), which entails all information necessary for the selection of the syntactic templates in step 4. In step (2), the macroroles (MRs) are assigned to the arguments of the matrix core (the actor for the 2sg person, the argument of the intransitive verb *sair* 'leave'); and to the arguments of the infinitival core (i.e., actor, for the 2sg person and undergoer for *trabalho* 'work', arguments of the transitive verb *terminar* 'finish'). In step (3), the highest ranking MR is selected as the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) in both cores; these PSAs receive the nominative case, and the other macrorole (undergoer) receives the accusative case, according to the case assignment rules for accusative constructions (cf. Van Valin, 2005:108, shown here in chapter 4, in (73)). Still in step (3), the agreement marking (of the 2sg person) is assigned both to the modal verb *poder* 'may' and to the inflected infinitive. In step (4), the syntactic templates are selected from the syntactic inventory of Portuguese to form the structure according to the semantic representation shown in step (1); in this syntactic structure there is no slot for overt subjects, who are only indicated through the inflection of the verbs, under the AGX node. In the final step (5), the arguments of the logical structure are assigned to positions in the syntactic representation, first to the positions of the matrix core, than to the positions of the infinitival core in the periphery$_{CORE}$; as case assignment occurs at the level of the core, there are two PSAs in the nominative case, represented in the inflections of the matrix verb and of the infinitive. Still in step (5), the verbs are linked to their nucleus nodes and only the modal verb *poder* 'may', which is considered in RRG as a modal operator (here, PERM) and has the tense operator PRES, is inflected for the present tense; and the core-internal positions of the morpheme expressing the tense as well as the infinitive[127] signal the declarative illocutionary force.

The next semantics-to-syntax linking is the non-subordinate example, which is purposive core coordination; its linking is depicted in Fig.35 below.

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[127] The illocutionary force operator DEC also modifies the infinitival core, that is, it makes it declarative, too.
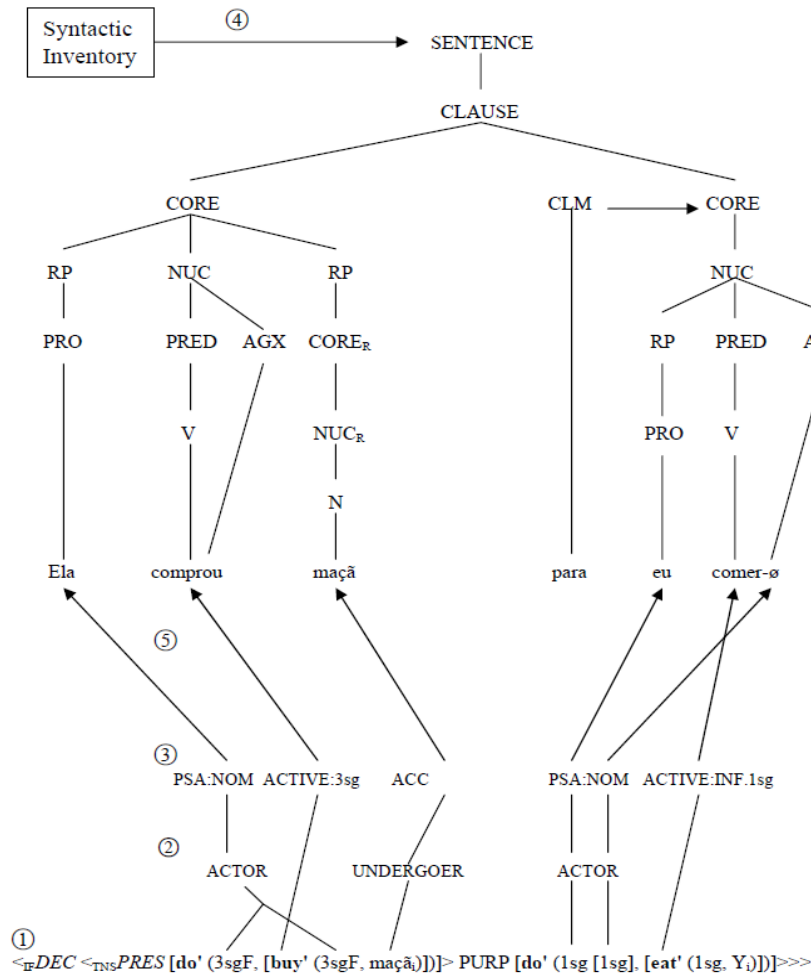
Syntactic Inventory ④ → SENTENCE

CLAUSE

CORE   CLM ——→ CORE

RP   NUC   RP   NUC

PRO   PRED AGX   RP   RP   PRED   AGX

V   CORE_R   PRO   V

NUC_R

N

Ela   comprou   maçã   para   eu   comer-ø

⑤

③
PSA:NOM ACTIVE:3sg   ACC   PSA:NOM ACTIVE:INF.1sg

②
ACTOR   UNDERGOER   ACTOR

①
$<_{IF}DEC <_{TNS}PRES$ [**do'** (3sgF, [**buy'** (3sgF, maçã$_i$)])]> PURP [**do'** (1sg [1sg], [**eat'** (1sg, Y$_i$)])]>>>

Fig.35 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of example 84.b

The semantics-to-syntax linking shown in Fig.35 gives the logical structure of the sentence (84.b) in step (1). In Step (2), the actor (3sgF) and the undergoer (*maçã*, 'apple') are assigned to the matrix core, and the second actor (1sg) is assigned to the infinitival core; here, the double representation of the 1sg person was just used to highlight the double representation of the subject, in form of the overt subject pronoun and of the inflection on the verb.[128] In step (3), the morphosyntactic coding of the arguments are determined, that is, the PSAs of the matrix core and of the infinitival core are selected and they receive nominative case, the other macrorole receives accusative case, and the verbs, which are active voice, show their appropriate agreement markings, that is, 3sg agreement in the matrix verb and 1sg in the infinitive verb. In step (4), syntactic template selection occurs, sorting out the necessary templates for the layered structure of the clause from the syntactic inventory, that is, the template for the matrix clause, a template for the coordinate cores, templates for the RPs, a template for the inflected infinitival core with the AGX node. The final step (5) involves

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[128] This could be seen clearly, if the inflection were not a null-morpheme. For instance, by changing the subject to *nós* (1pl), the inflection would be *–mos* (1pl-morpheme), as shown in chapter 2, that is, *Ela comprou maçã para nós comer-mos*.

linking the arguments into their positions in the structure, i.e. the PSAs are assigned to the preverbal positions (and the PSA of the infinitival core will be twice assigned both in the overt subject and in the inflection of the infinitive); and, although the accusative argument *maçã* 'apple' is interpreted as the patient of *comprar* 'buy' and of *comer* 'eat', it is assigned only to the object position of the matrix core, because it is lexically filled only in the first core; in the second core, this argument is only filled semantically, but not syntactically, for this reason, it is just indicated by the coindexing Y_i in the logical structure as shown in step (1) in Fig.35. Finally, Still in step (5), the verbs are linked to their nucleus nodes and only the verb *comprar*, which has tense operator PERF, is inflected for the past tense; and the core-internal positions of the morpheme expressing the tense and the infinitive verb (*cf. fn.* 127, above) signal the declarative illocutionary force.

Taking these two examples of semantics-to-syntax linking with inflected infinitival cores above, it seems that case assignment occurs at the level core in BP, considering the fact that the nominative case was assigned to both HR arguments in each core in both examples. In Van Valin (2005:257-260), two kinds of case assignments are presented: (i) a core-by-core case assignment in Icelandic, and (ii) a clause-by-clause case assignment in English. In the Icelandic case, Van Valin (2005) explains that the domain for case assignment in Icelandic is the core, that is, case is assigned core by core, enabling the sentence to have two nominative arguments in a single clause; whereas in English, the domain for that would be the clause, that is, case assignment occurs clause by clause, in which the HR macrorole of the English sentence gets nominative and the other arguments receive accusative. Hence, one can say that BP behaves similarly to Icelandic in this regard.

In fact, one can see a clear distinction between the infinitival cores with the plain infinitive and the ones with the inflected infinitive. In the first group, the infinitive is integrated into the matrix clause and its HR argument is lexically realized as an accusative object of the matrix core, both as in standard control sentences, in which the missing argument of the linked infinitival core must be interpreted as being the undergoer of the matrix verb (the controller), such as in the sentence (88.a) shown in Fig.36; and as in raising structures (known in RRG as matrix-coding constructions), in which an argument of a linked infinitival core raises to an argument position of the matrix core, such as in the sentence (88.b) shown in Fig.37.

(88)   a. Ela   nos   deixou   jogar   futebol.

        3sgF.NOM 1pl.ACC permit.PERF.3sg play.INF soccer

        'She let us play soccer.'

b. Eu   os   vi   sair.

1sg.NOM   1plM.ACC see.PERF.1sg leave.INF

'I saw them leaving.'

Fig.36 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of (88.a)   Fig.37 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of (88.b)

In Fig.36, *nos* (1pl.ACC) is the undergoer of *deixar* 'permit' but also the actor of *jogar* 'play', however, as the sentence (88.a) is a standard control construction, *nos* is only lexically filled as the object of the matrix core (as the controller). In Fig.37, *os* (3plM.ACC) is the actor of the infinitival core, but it is coded in the accusative case in the matrix core, that is, it raised from the subject position of the linked core to the object position of the matrix core. Both constructions, that is, the control construction and the raising construction, which are used in the standard language (SBP), have plain infinitives and an argument occurring in the argument position of the matrix core.

However, these examples in the colloquial language (CBP-I) are formed with the inflected infinitive, as already presented in the introduction, and shown here in (89.a)[129] with the linking in Fig.38, and (89.b) with its linking in Fig.39, where one can see the core-by-core case assignment, just as in the full linking examples shown above.

(89)   a. Ela   deixou   nós   jogar-mos   futebol.

3sgF.NOM permit.PERF.3sg 1pl.NOM play.INF.1pl soccer

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[129] This sentence is based on Perini's (2010:212) sentence, presented here in the introduction as example (2).

'She let us play soccer.'

b. Eu   vi   eles   saír-em.

1sg.NOM see.PERF.1sg 1plM.NOM leave.INF.3pl
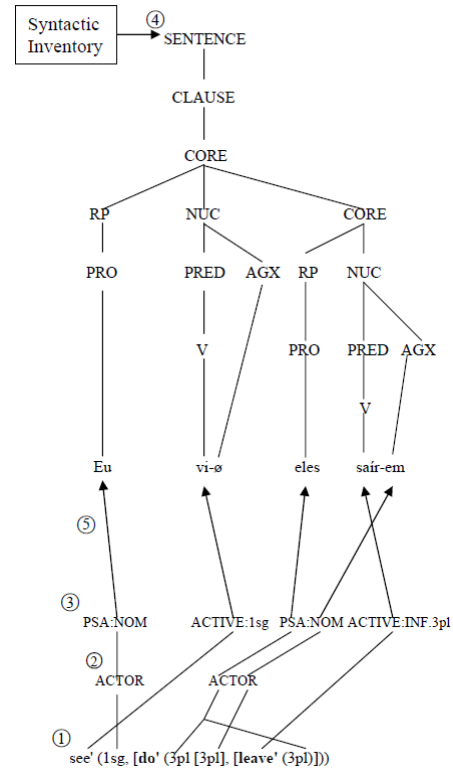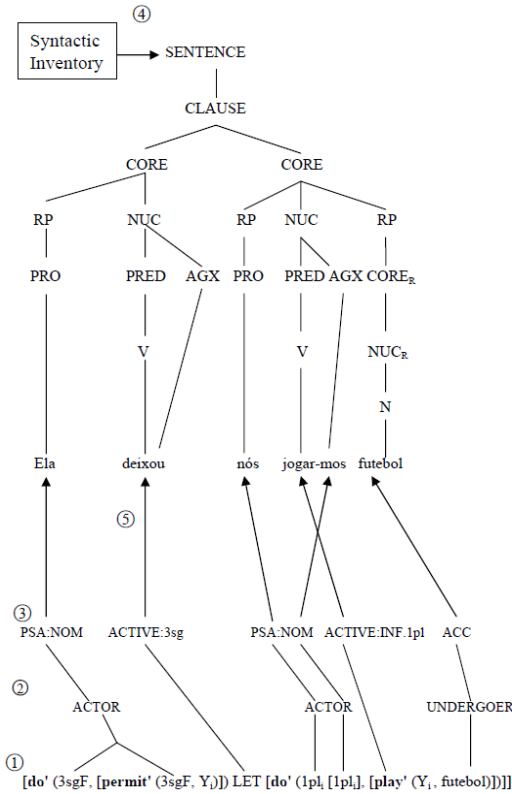
'I saw them leaving.'

Fig.38 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of (89.a)   Fig.39 – The semantics-to-syntax linking of (89.b)

In Fig.38, *nós* (1pl.NOM) is the undergoer of *deixar* 'permit' as well as the actor of *jogar* 'play', however the sentence (89.a) functions as a 'backwards' control construction, since, instead of having the undergoer of the *deixar* realized and the actor of *jogar* missing, only the actor of infinitival core (the controller) is lexically filled and functions as a backwards control of the object position of the matrix core. In Fig.39, *eles* (3plM.NOM) is the actor of the infinitival core, and it is coded in the nominative case in the subject position of the infinitival core. Both the 'backwards' control construction and the other construction have inflected infinitives and their arguments (actors) occur in the subject position of the linked core.

As one could observe in the linkings above, the inflected infinitival core linked to a matrix core seems to behave like the Icelandic type in terms of case assignment. As it occurs at the level of the core, this infinitival construction assigns a nominative case to its actor as the matrix does to its own actor, enabling the sentence to have two nominative subjects in a single clause.

5.3 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the framework of RRG for the syntactic representation was applied to the inflected infinitive construction, and then the linking algorithm from semantics to syntax to some examples, in which this kind of infinitive occur.

A distinction between the inflected infinitival construction without article and the one with it was made, because the former construction, which only has verb-like properties, could be represented with a CORE, whereas the later one, which has both noun-like and verb-like properties, needed to be reviewed and treated as an undefined lexical category within RRG.

Based on Van Valin (2008a), which suggests tests (distinctions) to verify the most relevant properties of a lexical item with respect to the reference phrase (NUC_R) or to the predicating phrase (NUC), as well as the representation of a complex construction with a mixed nucleus in Nootka, the representation of a syntactic projection for the inflected infinitive with an article was proposed as an RP with a verbal element in its NUC_R, namely the CORE of the inflected infinitive with the AGX node for the inflection (as the CORE of the construction without an article).

These syntactic projections were applied with the examples introduced in the introduction and in chapter two. In the examples analyzed there were all three types of nexus relations: cosubordination, coordination, and subordinations, which were attached:

(i) either to the main clause at the level of the CORE as one of its arguments, building a core subordination (as in Fig.25(=Fig.39) and Fig.26);

(ii) or to the main clause as its predicate inside of the NUCLEUS in a PP, building a core$_p$ subordination (as in Fig.24);

(iii) or the main clause at the level of the CORE node in the periphery (as in Fig.27(= Fig.34) and Fig.30), building an ad-core subordination;

(iv) or to the main core within the CLAUSE as a second linked core (as in Fig.29 (=Fig.35) and Fig.38), building a core coordination;

(v) or to the NUCLEUS of a proposition inside of a mixed RP, that is, the headless relative core refers to a referent (RP), which is formed of a proposition (as in Fig.31), building a core subordination;

(vi) or to a noun as a complement of the nominal CORE at the level of the $CORE_R$ (as in Fig.32), building a core$_N$ subordination;

(vii) or to an adjective as a complement of the adjectival CORE (as in Fig.33), building a core$_A$ subordination.

In Fig.28 and Fig.29, a distinction in the representation of the sentences (83.e, i.e. 6.a) with the dative subject, and (83.a, i.e. 6.b) with the nominative subject was made, because the dative subject, which was a direct argument of the preposition, and not of the plain infinitive (hence, it was represented in CORE_P); whereas the nominative subject, which was a direct argument of the infinitive (hence, of an inflected infinitive), was represented as usual in the CORE of the infinitive. In Fig.30, even though there is no shared argument between the matrix core and the infinitival core in the periphery_CORE, the meaning of the undergoer of the infinitive, i.e. clitic *a* (3sgF), depends on the undergoer of the matrix core, i.e. *maçã* 'apple', forming an ad-core subordination.

In addition, the headless relative clause, which filled an argument position of the main clause, was represented as a core subordination, and its relative pronoun as an argument of the inflected infinitive in the PrCS of the RP. And, finally, the infinitival cores attached to the noun and to the adjective were represented not as relative clauses, in the periphery node, but as core arguments of the noun and of the adjective, respectively, forming core subordinations.

In the examples with the plain infinitive, the infinitival cores were also attached to the main clause at the level of the CORE, building either a Core cosubordination, in which two arguments were shared with the main core and the PP in the periphery (as in Fig.28), or a Core coordination, in which one argument was shared with the other core (as in Fig.36 and Fig.37);

In the semantics-to-syntax linking representations, a further distinction between the plain and the inflected infinitive verbs could be seen in terms of case assignment. In plain infinitival core, case is assigned to its arguments depending on the HR argument of the matrix core, which receives the only nominative case of the clause, because the HR argument of this infinitival core is only filled in the matrix core. However, the inflected infinitival core, which can constitute a coordination (sharing an argument with the other core) or a subordination (sharing no argument with the other core, but depending on it because of its meaning), assigns also the nominative case to its HR argument, allowing the clause to have two nominative subjects. This feature of BP seems to be like the Icelandic case assignment type which occurs at the level of the core, differing from the English case assignment type, in which just the HR argument of the matrix receives nominative case, and all the other arguments accusative case.

After having suggested syntactic projections for the inflected infinitival constructions and analyzed some of the examples introduced in chapter two, a general review of the whole work will be presented in the conclusion, summarizing the main points and comparing the present analysis within RRG with the other accounts revised in chapter three.

6. Conclusion

In the present study, I have examined the inflected infinite in Brazilian Portuguese, in terms of its use in the standard language (SBP), in the colloquial language (CBP), and in the regional dialect of the Northeast of Brazil (NeBP), making a syntactic and semantic analysis within the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar.

The assumption that its occurrence in BP has been decreasing, or even become inexistent, results mainly from the fact that only the colloquial varieties with weakening of the inflectional systems (i.e., CBP-II and regional dialects, exemplified here by NeBP) are considered for the collection of data in their language analyses, thus ignoring its occurrence in SBP and CBP-I altogether. In addition, the personal uninflected infinitive forms occurring with an overt subject in nominative are not included in these analyses, failing to distinguish them, which behaves syntactically and semantically as the ones with person marking, from the plain infinitival constructions, which are much more dependent on the matrix clauses than the personal (un-)inflected constructions.

The overall aim of this study was to advance an understanding of the inflected infinitive in BP, considering not only the standard language (SBP), as the grammatical accounts did; but also both existent types of the colloquial language varieties (i.e., CBP-I, which is more related to SBP, and CBP-II, which is broadly similar to social and regional dialects); in addition to the dialect of NeBP.

In order to achieve this main goal, specific objectives were set, such as: (i) identify the actual structure of the inflected infinitive; (ii) justify the inclusion of the personal uninflected infinitive forms in the analysis of the inflected infinitive ones; (iii) suggest a formal representation for the two different types of inflected infinitives (the one with the definite article, and the one without the article); and (iv) explore the environments in which the inflected infinitive occurs, considering its syntactic and semantic structures within RRG.

In chapter two, it was demonstrated with examples that, despite the fact that the personal uninflected infinitive cannot be morphophonologically differentiated from the plain infinitive, it should be considered as an inflected infinitive, since it functions syntactically and semantically like the infinitives with person marking. These personal uninflected infinitives were formally differentiated from the plain ones with a zero-morpheme, whenever they occurred linked to an overt nominative subject (either as a pronoun or as a lexical noun).

In the same chapter, it was also shown that the increasing use of the overt subject in BP influenced the inflected infinitive, so that it is more likely to find an example of an inflected infinitive with an overt subject than without it nowadays. Hence, considering the

development of the infinitive in Portuguese as proposed by Maurer (1968), it was suggested that the occurrence of the personal uninflected infinitive with an overt subject would constitute a further stage of this development, given the tendency for simplification in BP. Considering all these reasons, one could see that the inclusion of the personal uninflected infinitive in the analysis of the inflected infinitive was justified.

In chapter three, the reviews of some grammatical accounts and of accounts using a theoretical framework indicated that the nominative subject is not only associated to an inflected infinitive by definition, but it is, in some cases, indispensable for this infinitive, as shown in Perini (1974) and in Kliffer (1978), who suggested, *mutatis mudandis*, that the subject was responsible for the inflection.

Additionally, RRG case assignment rules for accusative languages also accounted for the nominative subject in inflected infinitival constructions. According to these rules, nominative is assigned to the highest ranking macrorole (HR MR), and accusative to the other macrorole. Because personal (un-)inflected infinitive must occur with a nominative subject, and plain infinitival constructions cannot occur with a nominative case, this provides a further evidence for the distinction between the plain and the personal uninflected infinitive. The difference between these two types of infinitive was also formally represented in the semantics-to-syntax linking. In these representations, it was clear that the clauses with inflected infinitival constructions are allowed to have two HR MRs in each CORE, suggesting that the case assignment in BP occurs at the level of the core, as in Icelandic, and not at the level of the clause, as in English.

In the same chapter, a formal syntactic representation for the two types of inflected infinitive was also suggested: The RRG representation of a reference phrase (RP) with a CORE inside was used for the type with the article, in order to account for both nominal and verbal features; whereas only the interne CORE of the first type was necessary to represent the second type without article, which bears only verbal features. Following Belloro (2004), in both structures there was an AGX node responsible for all personal information generated at the level of the NUCLEUS. This way, the presence of the overt subject and the inflection attached to the infinitive were analyzed as coreferential, thus accounting for three possible situations, that is, (i) when both the overt subject (as an argument of the CORE) and the inflection (in AGX node) occur in the construction, (ii) just the overt subject occurs (i.e., in the cases of the personal uninflected infinitive), and (iii) when just the inflection occurs (i.e., mainly in the written language, in which the context indicates the subject).

In chapter five, I have also analyzed different environments in which the inflected infinitive occurs, using the RRG tools for the syntactic and semantic analyses. For example, the notion of 'Cosubordination' as a third nexus relational type was very useful to explain the two possible constructions for causative, perception and factive verbs, that is, the plain infinitival core could be distinguished from the inflected infinitival core in terms of dependency of the matrix clause.

As one could see, the specific objectives set here were achieved, showing diverse aspects of the inflected infinitive, which contributed to advance an understanding of this language phenomenon in PB.

In this study, there were some limitations, such as (i) some aspects of the inflected infinitive were not handled (e.g., the question of focus, in discurse-pragmatics), (ii) some forms were not included (e.g., the inflected infinitive with indefinite pronouns, or with the expression *é só* 'it's only'), (iii) many accounts could not be reviewed here for space considerations, and (iv) other aspects of RRG could be used. For this reason, this study should be seen as a first RRG analysis of the inflected infinitive, which can be improved in subsequent analyses.

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